THE VOLUNTEER ORGANIZATION

IN THIS CHAPTER

- Methodology
- Phone Banks
- Phone Bank Locations
- Clerical Workers
- Time Allotments for Volunteer Tasks

No matter where you find your volunteers, a campaign must have a system to organize, direct, and assign responsibilities. The system I describe here can be used either with index cards or with a spreadsheet program such as Excel. The methodology as presented in each of these activities really works. If you use it as outlined, you will be able to utilize your volunteers better and run a more effective campaign.

Methodology

Here is how to keep track of campaign volunteers:

Using volunteer sign-up sheets (see figure 1.1), remittance envelopes (see figure 4.4), and lists from other campaigns and support groups, you can begin to amass names of people willing to work, contribute, host a lawn sign, and write letters-to-the-editor. If your campaign is beginning cold, the first

thing to do is to contact other campaigns of like-minded people or similar efforts to determine whether those campaigns will give you their list of supporters. Contact all of your friends, local family members, people on committees or organizations in which you participate,

"These things are good in little measure and evil in large: yeast, salt, and hesitation."

—The Talmud

business associates, members of your church and of any clubs you belong to, and members of organizations with similar political leanings. Build a database as quickly as possible.

If you are using a spreadsheet program, list all of your contacts, from your initial cold calls as well as from cards, remits, and sign-up sheets generated by your campaign. This will be your master list. Here are the column names that should run along the top of your master list: last name, first, spouse/partner, street number, street, city, zip, phone. Volunteer work and services categories (which can be filled in with yes or no) include phone work, canvass, clerical, lawn sign, lawn sign install, LTEs (Letters-to-the-Editor), and endorsement ad. Finally a column labeled \$ indicates whether a volunteer has also contributed funds, and a column labeled notes may contain brief comments (see figure 3.1).

Although there is a column for donations (\$), remember, this sheet is for *volunteer* activities. The \$ column simply tracks which of your volunteers have also contributed money. Since states have specific filing requirements for campaign donors, it is important to keep track of donor information

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Name -	Last	B First	Spouse/Partner	City	Zip	Phone	Cell/wk	Canvass

Figure 3.1 Example of an Excel Spreadsheet for Keeping Track of Volunteer Workers

IVE IACIIIIO' I II ST I ACIIIIO	canvass lawn signs phone (lerical (vellow)
Occupation	
\$: Donation Amount & Dates, Receipt?, Thank you	Phone/Cell: Home: Work:
Partner's Name (Cross-reference if different)	Fax: email:
Address	
Notes	

Figure 3.2 Example of a 3-by-5-Inch Contact Card

apart from your volunteer spreadsheet. An example of a donation spreadsheet can be found in Chapter 4, figure 4.14.

If you are using index cards, place all information for each volunteer on a single card (see figure 3.2). Because index cards cannot be sorted by category

as easily as spreadsheet entries, you need a system that will give you volunteer information at a glance. Before I moved all my systems to Excel, I color-coded my cards with colored stickers. Working from the upper right-hand corner toward the left, fold the stickers over the card's top edge so that they look like half circles

"It is one of the beautiful compensations of life that no one can sincerely try to help another without helping himself."

-Ralph Waldo Emerson

on each side of your card; this way the color-coding can be seen from the top of the index box at a glance. For each person contacted, an index card will be generated. Keep all cards together in one box.

The color-coding indicates which campaign activities the volunteer will work on, such as lawn sign placement, phone banks, canvassing, or clerical work. Use a color scheme that works for you and your campaign, but keep in mind that using more than four colors can easily crowd a 3-by-5-inch card.

The "notes" section of your spreadsheet or card is important. This is where you note such information as "Won't canvass hills"; "Don't call early A.M."; "Don't call after 8:00 P.M."; "Horrible on phones"; and "Has three staple guns." Also use this section to make a note when someone has been rude ("Do not contact again"), so that other campaign volunteers needn't be subjected to it. After hundreds of phone calls, it is impossible to remember such details if a record is not kept somewhere.

Organize Volunteer Activities

Once information is in your spreadsheet or on the index cards, you're ready to set up volunteer activities.

If you are using Excel, follow these directions carefully: The spreadsheet containing the information about the volunteers will say "Sheet 1" in the tab at the bottom of the Excel window. Right-click the "Sheet 1" tab and rename it "Master" or "Raw Data." It is important that one sheet remain intact in case subsequent sorting goes awry and the original information has to be retrieved for the list to be rebuilt. Naturally, as your pool of volunteers grows, you will add names to the Master sheet, and over time you will add notes and make address changes, but you never want to actually sort this list for any activity.

Once you have renamed Sheet 1 as "Master" (or whatever name you choose), go to the top and click on the empty corner in the upper left-hand

"You can't have divided authority around a campaign headquarters.

—James Farley, Campaign Manager for FDR corner of the sheet, between the row beginning with A and the column beginning with 1. This will highlight your entire master list; now click edit, click copy, click the tab for Sheet 2, click the same empty square in the upper left (now this sheet will be highlighted), click

edit, and click paste. You now have a duplicate of your master list that you can sort and play with all you want.

If you want to set up a phone bank, highlight everything with text (you cannot use the blank square in the upper right-hand corner this time, because Excell will only sort a defined area). Click data, click sort, and under "Sort by," select the letter of the phone bank column. Then highlight the cells only of those who are willing to phone, and copy them to a third sheet, which you can label "Phones." Go through this list and delete all but the name and phone number(s), and add a column labeled "CB?" (call-back). Obviously, if I am just contacting people to see if they will help in a phone bank, I don't need the information in all the other categories listed on my master list. Be-

fore printing this page, be sure to insert gridlines (on the page setup menu), as they make the list a lot easier to read. Also increase the width of the rows, so that you can easily write information as needed. Repeat this process for whatever activity you wish to undertake.

When using the index-card system to organize campaign volunteers, cre-

ate campaign activity cards with 5-by-8-inch lined index cards set up as shown in figure 3.3. The following process works for activities such as phone banks, clerical work, canvassing, and lawn sign placement or maintenance. Once you have the 5-by-8-inch cards prepared, copy the names and phone numbers from the appropriate 3-by-5-inch cards onto them or a sheet of paper. (The 3-by-5-inch cards should never get far from their box.)

For both spreadsheet and index card systems:

"With their budgets warped towards media spending, candidates and their organizations are led to measure the progress of their campaigns only in terms of dollars raised and tracking polls. Many [candidates] lose due to their failure to organize large numbers of people in their campaigns."

—Morton Blackwell, The Leadership Institute, May–June 1998, newsletter

Whatever the activity, have a number of dates lined up for it so that each volunteer is called only once for scheduling. When calling for an ongoing activity such as canvassing, have four or

		ACTIVITY: CANVAS 10/14						
NAME	PHONE #	CB?	9:30 AM-12:00	2:30-5:00 PM				

Figure 3.3 Example of a 5-by-8-Inch Canvass Activity Card

58 🗔

five dates and times, so if one date doesn't work, another may. If a volunteer can do none of the times offered, it is important to determine why and to note that on the card or spreadsheet. If it is a temporary schedule conflict, note when the conflict will be resolved. However, if it sounds as though the volunteer will never do the activity, offer another campaign job. Keep this person on the phone until it can be determined what is going on. If it is clear that he or she will never volunteer, that person's name should be removed from the volunteer list. For now, however, the name remains on your working list with a line through it so that you will remember that you called. If you do not do this, you may forget and call again.

A couple of days before the activity, call back every volunteer who agreed to work and place a check in the "CB?" column. It is best to actually talk to the worker on the call-back, so leave a message only as a last resort. On the call-back, do not ask workers if they still intend to help. Do not even call to remind them directly of the upcoming volunteer activity. They said they would do it, and the tone of your conversation should reflect that verbal commitment. Plus, if they are very organized, they will resent the call. Instead think of this call as a small rattling of the cage and make it about something else: Remind them to bring a clipboard, or ask if they mind doing hills, or check to make sure that they were given the correct meeting place or the correct time. Whatever it is, it's your fault or it's about a small detail that wasn't addressed in the first conversation. You're just checking to make sure the information given previously was correct. If the volunteer has forgotten, the call serves as a reminder. If the person inadvertently made other plans, this is your opportunity to reschedule. Potential no-shows, discovered by a phone call, are incredibly easy to reschedule.

Applying the Methodology

Every campaign consists of basic campaign activities, such as:

- Running phone banks
- Canvassing the voters
- Developing campaign events
- Designing ads or other media
- Organizing clerical support (including thank-you notes)
- Preparing, installing, and maintaining lawn signs
- Raising money

Each of these activities is volunteer intensive. You can apply the techniques described above to find and keep track of volunteers, but each activity requires specific techniques. The method described above will be applied throughout this handbook to organize each activity.

Phone Ranks

Phone banks can be used throughout a campaign and are the most efficient way to retrieve information in a short period of time. They can be used to get a head count for a fund-raiser, to get lawn sign locations, to raise money, and to get the campaign more volunteers. If you plan to do a get-out-the-vote (GOTV) effort on election day, you will have to identify (ID) voters who intend to vote for your candidate or cause. This can be done while canvassing, but it is easier and far more efficient to do it by phone. The GOTV effort itself is primarily done by phone. When signing up volunteers, assure them that they will receive training before actually working on the phones.

Generally, I schedule a phone banker to work for one hour and fifteen minutes (fifteen minutes for training and then one hour on the phone). Almost anyone will give up an hour or so for a campaign they believe in, and if it turns out that the volunteer is bad on the phone, an hour is plenty. However, if I am desperate or conducting fast, important calls, as in a GOTV effort, I will put seasoned callers on the phone for up to two hours. A caller who has worked for me in the past will let me know if the full two hours is too long. I then have others scheduled in to replace a caller coming off the phones early.

Have two to three shifts each evening. Volunteers must arrive fifteen minutes before their shift for training. No one likes to go on the phone cold, so people rarely miss training when it's offered and expected. Should time allow, consider doing a role-play with your volunteers—having one volunteer pretend to call another.

Each phone bank should have a "lead." This is the person responsible for unlocking, training, cleaning, and closing up the phone bank. Training begins by handing a phone banker a brochure and an instruction sheet,

which should include prepared scripts. If the campaign is using volunteers to conduct a poll, a prepared script must be followed to the letter; however, in all other phone bank activities, a caller who adlibs will generally do best.

"Let us endeavor so to live that when we come to die even the undertaker will be sorry."

-Mark Twain

Once the volunteers have read the instructions, do a walk-through of what is expected on the phones and explain any peculiarities the phone system may have (such as dialing 9 first). Tell volunteers where the bathroom is, and let them know that you will be providing

water. Have a list for the lead of all the details that need to be shared with a new volunteer before he or she starts working the phone.

After a fifteen-minute training session, volunteers begin calling. The first twenty to thirty minutes that volunteers are on the phone, the lead should circulate, answer questions, and take water to people rather than making calls. The lead will have only ten or fifteen minutes between shifts, as the second crew will arrive for training fifteen minutes early, or forty-five min-

"... it does not require a majority to prevail, but rather an irate, tireless minority keen to set brush fires in people's minds..."

—Samuel Adams

utes into the hour of the previous shift's calls. This way, exactly one hour after the first shift starts, volunteers get a tap on the shoulder from someone on the next shift, and they are off the phones.

Never tell people that you want them for a specific amount of time, then push them to stay longer. This is how a campaign can lose volunteers. When you ask

someone to work for you, you have made a verbal contract with him or her for a specific job and a specific amount of time. Don't nudge.

Once the second shift is in place, happily making calls, supplied with water, and all campaign questions asked and answered, the lead must then call all those listed to volunteer on phone banks for the following evening. Giving a quick reminder of place and scheduled time for work avoids no-shows.

Note: Do not expect your phone bank people to look up phone numbers. Use a clerical team of volunteers to do that ahead of time.

Phone Bank Training

The following is an example of what you might prepare for your volunteers who are phoning for the campaign:

Thank you for your help. Tonight we are cold-calling people who live on arterial streets in hopes of beefing up our lawn sign list. While the lists you're calling have the same party registration as our candidate, they have not been previously identified as a supporter. Just so you know, that may make some of the calls a little harder. Please make a note on your list next to the name of the voter whether he or she will take a lawn sign, and if not, whether that person will be supporting our candidate.

Boxes 3.1 and 3.2 are examples of two approaches for a phone script.

What you ask for will vary according to the phone bank. You could be calling for lawn sign locations, money, volunteer workers, a head count for

"Hello, this is (your name). Tonight I am volunteering to help the Alan Bates campaign. As you may know, Alan is running for reelection to the House, and I was hoping you would consider having one of his lawn signs in front of your home."

If no, thank the caller and ask if Alan can count on his or her support in the upcoming election.

If yes, verify address and ask if there are any special instructions for where and how the homeowner would like the sign placed. Then say:

"Someone will be coming by to place the sign about six weeks before the election. We will also have some maintenance crews checking signs from time to time. However, if you would occasionally check the sign and set it up if it falls over, that would be very helpful. When the sign is placed, there will be a note left on your door so you can contact the campaign should it disappear or be vandalized. Thanks for helping us out."

Box 3.1 Example of Phone Instructions and Script for Lawn Sign Locations

Before You Pick Up the Phone-

- 1. Be proud of what you are doing. You are working for a cause you believe in. You are on the front line of a campaign.
- 2. Think about what has motivated you to give up your time to work for the candidate (or ballot measure). People will ask how a candidate stands on a particular issue. While you cannot speak directly to that, you can share why you are working for this individual (or cause).
- 3. *Identify yourself only as a volunteer working for the campaign*. In general, you want the candidate's name to make it into the consciousness of the voter, not yours, unless, of course, you know the person.
- 4. No matter what else happens, get something from the individual before you get off the phone. "You can't canvass, ever? How about a lawn sign?" "You have a bad lawn-sign location? Do you have a friend who might want one?" "Can we use your name on the endorsement ad?" "Would you make a contribution?" Whatever. You want them in on the campaign with that single call, or to know how they will be voting. (This is helpful information for the campaign.)
- 5. And thank you for taking the time to help in this important cause.

Box 3.2 Example of Phone Bank Instructions

an event, or voter ID (that is, finding out whether or not a voter supports your campaign). Think about your mission, and prepare a short introduction for the caller.

Phone Bank Locations

It can be difficult to locate enough phones for an effective phone session. I have found that real estate offices work best because people love to have company when calling, and they usually have five or more lines in the same

"Make no little plans; they have no magic to stir men's blood. . . . Make big plans, aim high in hope and work."

—Daniel H. Burnham

room. Law offices also may be an option, but in the typical office, callers wouldn't be able to see each other. Also, many law offices will be off-limits because of confidentiality concerns. Sometimes campaign headquarters for a bigger race (such as a presidential or gubernatorial contest) will let you use an

office. You might also try labor unions and physicians' or insurance offices. In the past, many businesses that supported a cause or a candidate would open their doors for phone banks after hours. However, the advent of caller ID has made it tougher and tougher to find such locations. Still, it never

"There is as much greatness of mind in acknowledging a good turn, as in doing it."

-Seneca

hurts to ask; on one campaign I was running, a Realtor who was working for the opposition let us use his phones because we were friends.

A word of caution on real estate offices: In the last campaign cycle, while we were working phones at a real estate of-

fice we had used for years, one of the agents dropped in to pick something up. The next day I received a call from the broker, who said that the agents in his office were apoplectic because one of our callers was from another real estate office, and they worried that this "competitor" could avail herself of secret documents.

Scripts

Wherever your phone bank is located, the important part of campaign phoning is to have an effective message. You should have scripts made up in advance for each campaign activity. While it is preferable to have callers ad-lib, they generally need a prepared script for the first few calls. It gets much easier after that. I also don't have anyone ask, "How are you doing tonight?" The reality is that the volunteer doesn't care, and the person on the other end

knows it. When I am calling for money, the calls will be a bit longer and more involved, so I usually start by asking the person who answers if they have a moment to talk. However, with volunteer

recruitment, the calls are so short that I just cut to the chase. Here are some sample scripts for typical campaign phone sessions:

"The whole is greater than the sum of its parts."

-Buckminster Fuller

Lawn Sign Location. "Hello, I'm a volunteer working for the Alan Bates campaign for state senate. Tonight we're looking for locations for lawn signs. Will you be supporting Alan in the general election? Great, could we place a lawn sign? Let me verify your address. Someone will be coming by about six weeks before the election to place it. We also have a crew who will be maintaining these signs; however, if it needs some attention, maybe you could help with it. Great. Thanks."

Special Activity. "Hello, I'm a volunteer working for the Alan Bates campaign for state senate. Did you receive the invitation for the campaign dinner this Saturday? The restaurant needs a pretty accurate head count, so we're trying to get an idea of the number of supporters who will be attending the dinner for Alan. Will you be joining us?"

Canvassing. "Hello, I'm a volunteer helping in the Peter Buckley campaign. We are hoping to canvass the city this Saturday with a last-minute door hanger and need about eighty-five volunteers.

"It is better to wear out than to rust out."

—Richard Cumberland (17th century)

There will be no door-knocking, just great exercise. Can you help?"

Another. "Hello, I'm a volunteer working for the 'Verger for Senate' campaign. Our notes indicate that you might be willing to canvass. Is that correct?" [Answer] "Great. I have a number of dates for some upcoming canvasses. Do you have your calendar handy?"

GOTV for Absentee and Mail-in Ballots. "Hello, I'm a volunteer from the Jeff Barker campaign. We're down here working on phone banks tonight to turn out as many of Jeff's supporters as possible. As of a couple of days ago, your ballot had not yet been received at county elections; is it possible you still have it at home?"

Voter ID. "Hello, I'm a volunteer working for the Alan Bates campaign. As you may know, Alan is the Democratic candidate for state senate. Do you know if you'll be supporting him this November?" [Yes, No, Need more info]

Undecided

With any of these scripts, if I call and discover that someone is undecided or leaning, I ask whether the person would like more information from the candidate or campaign committee to help in deciding. Finally, whatever a potential supporter might say, I ask my volunteers to make a note so that the campaign can follow up if need be.

Negative Response

Get off the phone as quickly as possible and make a note for the campaign.

Clerical Workers

The clerical team is an extremely important part of your campaign. Normally you think of people sitting around, addressing, stamping, and stuffing envelopes. While these tasks might make up the bulk of your clerical team's work, you should think of this group in broader terms.

Wherever I can break activities down into more manageable units, I do so. For example, on the day that lawn signs go up, you *cannot* expect your lawn sign team to arrive early in the morning, staple lawn signs, organize

"It's not very difficult to persuade people to do what they already long to do."

-Aldous Huxley

lists, and then head out for two hours of stake pounding. Each of these functions is very different and should be treated differently.

Your clerical team can come in days ahead of time to staple lawn signs or bolt them to the stakes, depending on the

type of sign you use. They can come in on still another day to help organize the lists, maps, and locations of where those signs are going.

Your clerical team is crucial in keeping your campaign tight and organized. Use them creatively wherever they can help with your workload or with the organization of an upcoming activity. Here are some examples of how the clerical team can be used:

- · Staple lawn signs at the corners (if using poly tag)
- · Attach lawn signs to stakes (if using corrugated)
- · Look up phone numbers for an upcoming phone bank

- Assemble maps for a canvass
- · Attach inserts in the brochures for a canvass
- · Write thank-you notes for money, lawn sign locations, or to volunteers
- · Stuff, stamp, and address a mailing
- Prepare items for a fund-raiser, such as a yard sale or auction
- · Set up for a campaign gathering—decorate, print name tags, etc.

To set up a campaign activity requiring clerical workers, contact people who have indicated they will help with clerical work. If you need additional volunteers, try senior groups that support you, the League of Women Voters, and your friends and neighbors. Given how much fun a clerical work party can be, it is usually pretty easy to turn out a crowd.

A clerical work party is a social time in campaigns; it's a time to chat with friends while helping with a cause everyone supports. It's a time to share war stories about canvassing, talk news, gossip, "We are here to add to what we can to life, not to get what we can from it."

-William Osle

or whatever while having coffee and cookies and doing a mindless task. These meetings are enjoyable and highly productive for the small effort involved.

It is important for people to be comfortable while working and sitting for two or more hours, so be sure to have enough table space for each volunteer. Do not do clerical work in an already cluttered house. Because no one's back is getting younger—and many of the clerical volunteers are older—I take the time to put together a comfortable work area. Avoid having people work on their laps in soft, overstuffed couches and chairs; they will not be as productive. This is akin to cleaning house or doing yard work in flip-flops—you can do it, just not as efficiently.

Have some snacks around—coffee, tea, cookies, and the like—but not on the table where work is being conducted.

Have everything set up. Do not waste your volunteers' time.

Do one activity at a time. If the task is to get out a mailing or to staple lawn signs, do just that. When the task is done—and usually they're done ahead of schedule—don't bring out one more thing for people to do. Remember, as with any other task in a campaign, you have made a verbal contract with your workers. Once they are captive workers in your home, to ask them to work past the designated time or beyond the designated task creates hard feelings. Workers who complete a task early and then go home feel good

The Volunteer Organization

67

about their participation and feel that they are helping in a well-organized effort.

Make sure that you have all the necessary materials at each station, so that people are not idle. Have extras of everything you need—staplers, sponges, stamps, envelopes, telephone books, rubber bands, or whatever else the task might require.

Time Allotments for Volunteer Tasks

Below are some general guidelines for what volunteers can do in a designated amount of time. From here, you can calculate how many people you'll need to accomplish a task in the time available. For the task to be completed by a certain date, work your way backward from that date so that you have enough time to complete the task given your resources and task goal—number of calls to make, signs to put up, homes to canvass, and so on.

Phone Banks

"Luck is the crossroads where preparation and opportunity meet." —Anonymous In general each volunteer can complete twenty to thirty calls per hour, depending on the nature of the calls. In a GOTV effort, people can make fifty calls during a ninety-minute shift. So, for example, if you want to make 4,000 calls by election

day and have only one phone bank location with six phones, you will need people on all six phones, for two ninety-minute shifts, for seven nights. Naturally, if you have more phones or another phone bank location, the number of calling nights goes down and the number of volunteers per shift goes up.

Canvassing

Because Oregon has vote by mail, our precincts are huge, with approximately 3,000 voters per precinct, or 1,400 to 1,500 homes. Precincts typically have about 400 registered voters in 120 to 200 homes. You can use voter lists to get

an accurate number of houses in each precinct.

"The feeble tremble before opinion, the foolish defy it, the wise judge it, the skillful direct it."

—Jeanne Roland

Two types of canvassing are used for our purposes here: a knock, and a simple drop without talking.

Knock. Depending on how hilly and tightly compacted a neighborhood is, canvassers can cover ten to fifteen houses per hour. That means that a precinct with 120 to 200 houses would

require four canvassers working two to three hours each to cover the distance.

Drop. A literature drop can be done quite a bit faster than a knock canvass. With a drop, again depending on street grade and the proximity of homes, a canvasser can cover thirty to forty-five homes in an hour.

Clerical (Direct Mail)

A mailing of 500 requires a fifteen-person clerical team working one hour to stuff, stamp, seal, and address envelopes.

"The success of any kind of social epidemic is heavily dependent on the involvement of people with a particular and rare set of social gifts."

Lawn Signs

One lawn sign team—a driver and a pounder—can put up about twelve lawn

—Malcolm Gladwell

signs an hour. So, for example, if you have 200 lawn signs to place, you will need sixteen people (eight teams) working two hours each.

4

FUND-RAISING

IN THIS CHAPTER

- Early Endorsements = Early Money = Early Media Buys
- Campaign Budget
- Direct Mail for Money
- Special Events
- Holding a Special Event
- Candidate Calls to Raise Money
- Calling for Money for Ballot Measures
- The Campaign Finance Committee
- Campaign Finance Committee Packets
- Tips for Successful Fund-Raising
- Fund-Raising Ideas That Take Less Than One Month of Preparation
- "Hey, Big Spender"
- The World's Smallest Brochure: Direct Mail That Works
- Keeping Track of Donations

A lthough this handbook suggests a number of ways to stretch your campaign dollars, no matter how many volunteers or friends with special talents you may have, eventually you will have to spend money to get your message out. Production and media buys require upfront, cash-in-hand transactions. The U.S. Postal Service will not send direct mail on

"Apart from the ballot box, philanthropy presents the one opportunity the individual has to express his meaningful choice over the direction in which our society will progress."

—George Kirstein

a promise, and most places that print anything for campaigns require payment when you pick up the product. Although volunteers can cut your debt

load, the larger the campaign, the more these volunteers become a valuable resource not to be squandered.

The bottom line is that if you want to get your message and your candidate's face into the public view, you must raise and spend a certain threshold of money to be competitive. What that threshold is depends on your race, the voting population, and which campaign activities you intend to implement.

I have worked on campaigns where money was no object and others where every decision was a financial trade-off, and, yes, it's more fun to work on campaigns with ample funds. Most important, money can buy you the opportunity, ability, and freedom to respond immediately to anything coming at the campaign.

While there are always stories of winners being grossly outspent, history indicates that the inverse is more often true, especially as you move up the food chain. According to the Center for Responsive Politics, in the 2002 midterm elections, "just under 95 percent of U.S. House races and 76 percent of Senate races were won by the candidate who spent the most money" ("Money Is the Victor in 2002 Midterm Elections," November 6, 2002).

In the eleven close Oregon House races in the 2002 general election, only four who were outspent survived, and, of those, two of the losers had extenuating circumstances where no amount of money would have delivered the votes.

Both the message and the quality of candidates (or issues) matter when it comes to raising money. However, campaign organization is a major factor in determining whether contributors are willing to "invest" in your campaign throughout the campaign cycle. Relationships that develop as a result of the candidate, the campaign team, your message, and your organization will bring in early money and early endorsements from individuals, companies, political action committees, and formal organizations.

Early Endorsements = Early Money = Early Media Buys

Early money is also a way to communicate to the public that a cause or candidate has the necessary support to pull off a win. Also, throughout the campaign, major donors can serve as another type of communication

"Too often leaders are soft on issues and hard on people. We need to be hard on issues and soft on people.

—Charles Maclean, Philanthropy Now Consulting tool with the electorate. For example, in Oregon, individuals who give more than \$50 must be listed separately on the contributions and expenditures forms (C&Es) filed with the secretary of state. If this is true in your state, look for well-respected people whose names can

draw votes and ask them to give an amount that will get them listed in a prominent way in the local paper, which in turn may bring in money from their friends and business associates. Obviously this amount varies with the type of race. A \$250 contribution may be news for a city councilor or alderman in a small town, but not in a large city mayoral race or congressional district race.

Unfortunately, contributions from individual donors tend to arrive late in a campaign, as things begin to heat up. When supporters see the campaign in the paper and on television or hear it on the radio, they know that this takes money. What they may not know is that media time must be bought weeks in advance. *Early money is critical to a successful media campaign*. That is why many candidates take out personal loans to get their campaign rolling.

Know the law: In some states you may not legally begin collecting money until you have filed with the county clerk, city recorder, or secretary of state. However, from the moment you decided to run or work on a ballot measure, you can begin calling and lining up pledges that will come in as soon as you file.

Campaign Budget

It is pretty easy to put together a cursory budget sheet based on the activities you intend to conduct throughout the campaign; all it takes is a few phone calls.

Figure 4.1 is an actual budget sheet from a 1998 city council race, which I updated for 2003 by calling around. While the original brochure was black and white, I have listed costs for a full-color brochure. If your budget is tight, using black and white instead of color will cut the printing costs in half. In 1998, local campaigns were not given the option of being in the voters' pamphlet, which normally carries a fee of \$300. This race covered a city of 19,000 people and 8,000 homes. There was no TV or radio advertising.

Figure 4.2 is the budget from a countywide, issue-based campaign. The county covers about 2,000 square miles and has about 180,000 residents and some 100,000 registered voters. Because of the size of the county and limited volunteer help, lawn signs gave way to 4-by-4-foot and 4-by-8-foot field signs placed along highways.

In 2002, hotly contested Oregon House races came in around \$225,000 each for the general election. On the high end, a Portland–Metro area campaign bumped up against a half million, and on the low end a couple of races in the outlying areas spent less than \$150,000.

SAMPLE CAMPAIGN BUDGET

(Five week city council race, population 17,000, one newspaper, no TV advertising)

Campaign Activity	Cost in Dollars
Brochure	
Layout and design	110.00
Printing (8,000 full color)	2,936.00
Ads (3)	
Layout and design	225.00
Newspaper: 3 ads run three times each	1,500.00
Lawn signs	
Design	100.00
Printing	4
(250 @ \$2.52 each- 2 color-two sides)	630.00
Stakes (250 @ \$20/bundle of 50)	100.00
Hardware	30.00
Voter lists from county for absentee, GOTV	50.00
Direct mail: 1 piece, postcard	
Postage, layout, mail charge	1,240.00
Photocopying, misc. office supplies	60.00
Candidate photo session	165.00
Total	\$ 7,146.00

Figure 4.1 Example of a Campaign Budget for a Candidate in a Small-City Race

To get an estimate of how much money your campaign will need, consider talking with people who have previously run a similar race. Some will

"It's difficulties that show what men are."
—Epictetus, Greek philosopher

have budgets with predicted and actual money spent. The county clerk or state election office should have C&E forms on file and a little time with these records might give you an idea

of where to best allocate your money. The following sections show how you might go about determining a budget for specific campaign activities.

Issue-Based Campaign Budget	
Direct Mail	
Fundraiser letter–1,000 pieces	
Design	#200 oo
Printing & mailing	\$300.00
	\$1,500.00
General mailer – full color, 50,000 pieces	
Design Printing & mailing	\$300.00
_	\$10,000.00
General mailer – b&w, 50,000 pieces	
Design	\$300.00
Printing & mailing	\$9,000.00
Targeted mailer–b&w, 25,000 pieces	
Design	\$300.00
Printing & mailing	\$4,000.00
Walking/info piece - 5.5x11, color, 30,000 pieces	7 3,2 2 2 2 2 2
Design	#200 oo
Printing	\$300.00 \$2,000.00
Precinct analysis	\$900.00
Voters' pamphlet	\$300.00
Big signs (200)	\$5,000.00
GOTV	40,000.00
Voter registration database from County	#100 oo
GOTV inactive reports (4x100)	\$100.00 \$400.00
Data consultant	\$3,000.00
Media advertising	φ3,000.00
TV ad development: 4 ads @ \$1,000 each	
Cable buys	\$4,000.00
Network buys	\$6,000.00
Radio development, 5 spots @ 250 each	\$12,000.00
Newspaper buys	\$1,250.00
Ashland	\$4,000.00 \$3,500.00
Medford	\$9,000.00
Other advertising	φ5,000.00
Insert in chamber newsletter	
Car/Business signs, 500 pieces	\$75.00
Campaign Management	\$200.00
Office supplies	\$10,500.00
Celebration party	\$200.00
2 0	\$200.00
TOTAL ESTIMATED BUDGET:	\$88,625.00

Figure 4.2 Example of a Countywide, Issue-Based Campaign Budget

Brochure

- 1. Find another brochure with a design and layout you like.
- 2. Get a price quotation from a graphic designer for something comparable that's camera ready.
- 3. Determine which precincts you will target; using voter registration lists for those precincts, calculate how many brochures you'll need to print. Call a printer and get a price quotation; you can always have more done later, so don't get carried away. Remember that the number of registered voters and that of actual homes are two different things. You need enough brochures so that one will go to each home regardless of how many registered voters live there. To get the actual number of unduplicated households, try calling an electric utility company, the county clerk, or a mail house.
- 4. Call a photographer and ask how much a photo shoot will cost.

Things that affect the cost of a brochure:

- Color costs; the choices, in descending order of cost, are full-color, spot color, and black-and-white.
- Paper can have a dramatic impact on cost as well as printed quality. Be careful not to use paper that will absorb the ink too much.
- Does it need to be folded or cut? Each of these brings additional charges.

Lawn signs

Use steps similar to those listed above for the brochure. First, determine the total number of signs you will need. I have worked on campaigns with as many as one lawn sign for every thirty homes and others where we had as few as one for every sixty homes. It really depends on whether you can get the locations for signs and whether you're in an urban race or one with an urban/rural mix. Does the race warrant a large number of signs? Again, one way to determine the number of signs you need is to call someone who conducted a similar campaign covering the same geographical area and ask how many signs were put up. While you're on the phone, ask for their list of lawn sign locations.

Once you know the number of signs, get the same number of stakes plus a few more. Signs run around \$4.00–\$5.00 each with stakes and the miscellaneous stuff you will need for them. Unlike brochures, short runs for signs may take as long as two weeks to print, and they can be costly. For example,

in southern Oregon, a run of twenty-five signs costs \$13 a sign, whereas the cost per sign for a run of 500 is \$2.45. So get enough printed the first time.

If you need hardware or staple guns and staples to attach the signs to the stakes, price these items and list the cost. If you end up using staples and staple guns, be sure to call any friends you have in construction and ask if you can borrow their staple guns. Better yet, ask them if they will help to put up the signs and bring the staple gun to use. *Label all borrowed tools*.

If you have no locations for signs, you can buy lists of registered voters from the county and call those living on arterials for possible locations. Ideally you would get locations from other campaigns, but in my first race for mayor that wasn't an option. Volunteers went down the voter registration list, cold-calling those on arterials—a brutal but very effective technique.

In general, try to think of every little thing you will need to do to complete a specific activity. After you have done these tasks, take an hour or two and call around for some prices. "It's not how much money you raise.

It's how you spend your money."

—Jeffrey Gildenhorn, former candidate for mayor of

Washington, D.C.

In a small community, a fairly reliable ballpark figure as to the amount of money you will need to raise is \$1 per household in the voting district. If you have strong opposition, you will need more (say, \$2 per household); if you have weak opposition, you'll need less. Remember, this figure is for households, not voters. The type and number of media buys you plan to make will greatly influence the amount you need. Similarly, the number of direct mail pieces you send will influence the final budget figures. As your target population increases, you will find an economy of scale. For example, an Oregon House race with 40,000 voters will cost anywhere from \$3 to \$20 per registered voter. A county race of 100,000 registered voters may come in around \$80,000 or 80 cents per registered voter. Budgets are more a function of the race than anything else.

Everything you do in a political campaign requires money. While many of the people who work for you will also give you money, the bulk of it will come from people who are not directly involved as volunteers.

I never apologize or feel like I am begging when I ask for money for a candidate or measure. I assume that the potential contributor wants my candidate in office (or wants the benefits of the ballot measure) and is willing to back up that desire with money. When I ask for money, I think of it as providing an opportunity for the voter to get involved at a level other than the voting booth. I also look at a request for money as less demanding than a request for an individual's time. The reality is this: If you can find excellent

candidates to serve in office implementing programs that you support, more power to them; do all you can to help get them there.

"The highest use of capital is not to make more money, but to make money do more for the betterment of life."

-Henry Ford

In Oregon, anyone who contributes to a political campaign may file for a state income tax refund of up to \$50. If a husband and wife file a joint tax return, they can get a refund of \$100. Sadly, only about 16 percent of citizens take advantage of this. The refund tends to level the playing field for grassroots campaigns. If

your state has a similar program, find out about it and get this information to your potential donors.

Figure 4.3 is another example of a budget sheet you can use or modify for your purposes. Many local campaigns are too small and underfunded to have a campaign headquarters (other than in your home) or even staff. However, I included a staff section just in case you need it. Feel free to photocopy this page and modify it to fit your budget needs.

Direct Mail for Money

While direct mail can help create a relationship between your campaign and the voter, it is also an opportunity to raise money where those relationships are established. Given that efficient direct mail requires a mailing list of an

"My practice is to go first to those who may be counted upon to be favorable, who know the cause and believe in it, and ask them to give as generously as possible. When they have done so, I go next to those who may be presumed to have a favorable opinion and to be disposed to listening, and secure their adherence.

"Lastly, I go to those who know little of the matter or have no known predilection for it and influence them by presentation of the names of those who have already given."

—Benjamin Franklin

already identifiable group of voters, I prefer to see which lists I can get and then formulate a letter or piece that will appeal to those voters. Remember, your direct mail is only as good as the list to which it is sent. Carefully match your appeal to the people you are targeting.

In a direct mail piece, you might include a targeted letter, a campaign brochure, and a remittance envelope (figure 4.4). Direct mail can be used simply to align your candidate with an issue such as a concern for jobs where unemployment is high, parks and playgrounds where there are none, or anti-growth in a neighborhood where a big development is planned. Be sure to color-code your remittance envelopes with your direct mail

BUDGET FORM

CAMPAIGN ACTIVITY	AMOUNT	CAMPAIGN ACTIVITY	AMOUNT
Brochure		Billboards or field signs	
Layout & design		Rental space	
Photography		Design & layout	
Printing		Printing	
		Lumber	
Advertising		Staff	
Ad layout		CPA or bookkeeping (contract)	
Photography		Attorney (contract)	
(I would run a separate		Campaign manager & other staff	
print advertising		Salaries	
budget sheet and include		Insurance, taxes	
the number of ads, the			
size of ads and the cost		Television	
of each for the		Production	
number of runs. Put		Buys	
the total for all here.)		(Again, use the ad rep of	
		each station to set up a	
Research		schedule and budget	
		according to exposure you	
Direct mail		want. Put total here.)	
(Do this for each piece)		The state of the s	
Layout and design		Radio	
Printing		Production	
Postage		Buys	
Lists and labels (or)		Buyo	
Mailing house (they handle		Office supplies	
labels & postage)		Postage, pens, software	
3		Telephone, fax	
Polling		Staples, envelopes, etc.	
Benchmark poll	100,100,000	Otapies, envelopes, etc.	
Tracking poll		Headquarters	
		Treadquarters	
GOTV		Voluntage	
Voter ID lists		Volunteer support	
Absentee lists		Food, refreshments	
(list it all)		Staples, envelopes, etc.	
		Eurod voicine	
awn signs		Fund-raising expenses	-
Design & Layout		Invitations, layout, printing	
Printing Printing		Postage	
119		Decorations	
Misc. printing		Prizes	
Bumper stickers			
Flyers			
Body badges			
(canvassers & volunteers)			
Letterhead, envelopes			

Figure 4.3 Sample Budget Form

78		TH	E	C	A	M	P	A	The same

Canvass	☐ Use name(s) as supporter
Host event	□ email address:
	i email address:
-	
Put up lawn signs	ALAN RATES
Sign Maintenance	STATE REPRESENTATIVE
tion is required in order to	comply with Oregon Campaign Law
•	17 2 10
	Phone
	Phone
	Phone
	Phone
	Sign Maintenance

Figure 4.4 Example of a Remittance Envelope. Don't forget to include a line for an e-mail address.

pieces, so you know who is responding to what. That way you get some feedback on which letters are most effective. By running a marking pen along the edges of a stack of remittance envelopes a campaign can cheaply, quickly, and easily color-code envelopes.

Direct Mail Tips for Success

There are all kinds of opinions on the length, the type of paper, and the look of a direct mail piece. While direct mail is used widely to move voters toward a candidate or issue, it can also be an inexpensive and effective way to raise money. Here are some things I've found in soliciting with direct mail.

- 1. Use quality paper stock and printing. Keep graphics and fonts simple and clean.
- 2. People in lower economic groups and those with less education respond in greater numbers to a longer "the house is on fire" solicitation. This group gives less money and votes less, so be sure you have targeted correctly before spending lots of money on a multipage solicitation.

"I have only made this letter rather long because I have not had time to make it short."

—Pascal, 1656

- 3. Wealthy, well-educated Republicans respond to letters that are no longer than two pages with lots of "this is what I've done, this is what I will do." A single page will work fine for them.
- 4. Well-educated, affluent Democrats respond in greatest numbers to short, single-page letters explaining the community needs that you will address and how their contribution will make a difference.
- 5. Only solicit targeted lists. Most people using direct mail to raise money will send to prospect lists (sometimes thousands of voters) in order to generate a "house list" from those who respond. The first mailing loses money, and subsequent mailings to the "house list" make money. This works well for big campaigns, but local campaigns often cannot send to enough people to generate a large enough house list to make money on subsequent mailings.
- 6. If you have no targeted lists, spend the money and mail to as big a class of voters as possible to make money on subsequent mailings. For example, mail to everyone in your political party in your targeted precincts.
- 7. Once people respond to the first mailing, solicit them again. For those responding the second time, solicit them again. After three letters, go back to your house list.
- 8. A direct mail piece followed up by a phone call from the campaign substantively increases your response rate.
- Always include a remittance envelope and a P.S. The P.S. should not be a throwaway. This is often the only thing that is read in a fundraising letter, so make it count.
- 10. Personalize the letter and envelope if at all possible. Use a size and color of envelope that does not scream junk mail, such as $6\frac{1}{2}$ by 5 inches. Have volunteers hand address and use a stamp, even if it's a bulk stamp.

Finding Targeted Mailing Lists

Throughout this handbook are tips and suggestions for establishing relationships with special-interest groups in your community or region. Such alliances can really pay off in mailing-list dividends. Think about who would be most interested in seeing you get elected or seeing your measure passed. Will other candidates or office holders turn over their house lists to your campaign? Consider asking someone who previously ran for the office you are seeking, especially if an incumbent is leaving. Think about other organizations too: Which ones would sell you their mailing lists? Some possibilities of lists that could generate money:

- Teachers, especially if you're working for a school or library bond measure or running for school board
- Environmental organizations such as the Sierra Club, fly-fisherman, League of Conservation Voters, Friends of the River, clean-water groups, greenway organizations, Critical Mass, or any organization that sends a newsletter to a specific group of supporters
- Women's organizations such as Planned Parenthood, National Organization for Women, or Women's Political Caucus
- Your church
- Civic clubs, firefighters, law enforcement groups
- Historic preservation groups

Determine the Amount of Money You Will Need for Direct Mail

- 1. Decide how many mail pieces you intend to send throughout the campaign.
- 2. Look at some other direct mail pieces you like and get a cost estimate for layout and design.
- 3. Decide which groups you are mailing to, and then determine the number of households that will receive the piece. For example, if you want to send a direct mail piece to your top five priority precincts but want to send it only to members of the Green Party, members of the Peace and Freedom Party, Independents, and Democrats, call the county clerk to get a count for each of these group members in those precincts. Because you want a household count, be sure to ask for unduplicated households. Often the clerk's office will download all the necessary information onto a disk for a nominal charge, and you can deliver it to a mailing house where the merge-sort can be done.

- 4. Use this number to figure your printing and mailing costs for each piece; 50 to 65 cents each is a good ballpark figure. However, economies of scale do count here.
- 5. Multiply the per-piece cost by the number of direct mail pieces you want to send and add a bit more. That will make up your direct mail budget line item.

Special Events

Special events are campaign-sponsored activities intended to raise money and support for the campaign, such as a coffee at a supporter's house or a

campaign-organized luncheon, dinner, or picnic. Although I have had many successful special events for campaigns, compared with the candidate calling supporters directly, they raise very little money and take untold amounts of campaign time. The people who attend are

"Every experienced campaigner knows that money follows hard work. It is not the other way around." -Margaret Sanger

usually supporters who have already given and have every intention of voting for the candidate or cause.

That said, it is important to stress that fund-raisers are not just about raising money. Special events are also for public visibility and education, for involving volunteers so they are more committed to the campaign and candidate, and for promoting "friend-raising" by strengthening the bonds volunteers and guests have with the candidate.

When approached as an opportunity to advertise the candidate and cement relationships, special events can be worth the necessary resources. But

don't underestimate the commitment involved. You need to be cautious about the strain special events put on the campaign committee, the volunteers, and the candidate. If someone other than the campaign committee is sponsoring the event, as is often the case with a coffee, you need to be ready to help that event be a success.

"It's nice to have some money, but it's pressing the flesh that's going to win this election."

> -Jeffrey Gildenhorn, former candidate for mayor of Washington, D.C.

Ensure a Good Turnout

The one thing you must avoid if you schedule a special event is a poor turnout. If it looks like a fund-raising event will have marginal attendance, I invite all my volunteers to attend for free. Numbers are more important

82

Fund-Raising

N 83

than money when holding a special event in political circles. Whatever the attendance, you need to be certain that the people who do attend don't have a bad experience. If people can't find the location, can't find parking, or were inadvertently left off the reservation list, they are likely to blame the campaign. You never want to lose a supporter over an avoidable organizational error at a fund-raising event. Take care of your supporters by taking care of details.

Holding a Special Event

A good rule of thumb for planning special events for fund-raising is that it takes one week of preparation for every ten people you expect to attend. Obviously, this time frame becomes tight in a three-month campaign, but the rule underscores the fact that ample preparation time must be factored in for a successful event. The preparation takes place in four stages.

- 1. You must *define* the purpose or purposes the event is to accomplish.
- You must *plan* the event.
- You must promote the event.
- You must *conduct* the event.

Tips for handling each of these stages are discussed below:

1. Determine the Purpose and Type of Event

Be clear about the purpose of the event. Is it to attract donors, raise money, raise support, thank volunteers and supporters, or just to get the word out on the measure or the candidate? Special events can, of course, have more

"Where there is no vision, the people perish."

-Book of Proverbs, 29:18

than one purpose, but you need to focus on one purpose before you can pick the event. Focus on the main purpose when choosing the type of event; then see whether other purposes might be accomplished as well.

Dinners. I have had great results hosting dinners as fund-raising events. I contact a supportive restaurant and ask whether the owner will donate the dinner at cost in the restaurant. I then sell it to the guests at retail. Generally the restaurant can't afford the whole affair, so I go to another eatery and ask whether that owner will donate the dessert, another for a donation of the coffee, a local vintner for the wine, and so on. You can ask a local musician or band to volunteer talent to make the occasion special (consider looking at the high school music department for great talent). Restaurants are often closed on Mondays, making it a perfect night for your fund-raiser.

I have also had great success with intimate affairs at people's homes. In this approach the host produces the invitations and provides the food. If the person hosting the event is new to this sort of thing, it's important to check in frequently and help as needed. These events usually involve a wellknown person providing a lavishly catered meal for a well-known candidate at a fairly hefty price. I try, in this scenario, to be selective about whom I invite, although usually the price will select who will attend, and the invitees know that. We have brought in as much as \$6,000 in our small area at this type of dinner.

If I am working for a relatively unknown candidate, I do not have a cover charge or a "suggested" donation, for two reasons: First, because the candidate is new to the political circuit, people will stay home rather than give money to a candidate they do not know. Second, I want people to give more than I could possibly charge for such an event. For example, if you charge \$100

"Never think you need to apologize for asking someone to give to a worthy object, any more than as though you were giving him an opportunity to participate in a highgrade investment."

-John D. Rockefeller, Ir.

for a lavish event at someone's home and yet many attendees can give more, the campaign will only get the \$100 cover. To lend credibility to my political newcomer, I will bring in a well-known political figure, such as the governor, and will schedule two events back-to-back in two different cities. The first can run from 6:00 to 7:30 in one city and the second from 8:00 to 9:30 in another. To make sure there will be plenty of money flowing, I arrange for one or two people at each gathering to announce that they have just written a check for \$1,000 and would encourage all to give as generously as possible. In one campaign we raised \$10,000 in three and a half hours with this approach; there was no suggested contribution on the invitation.

Coffees. I have found that coffees sponsored by a supporter can be a good special event. I will add, however, that they can also be a miserable failure. To be successful they must, like all special events, be closely supervised. Since the campaign is not the sponsor, the critical factor is who hosts the coffee for you. If the sponsor is a local leader, such as a county commissioner, state representative, mayor, president of a college or university, a business leader, philanthropist, or anyone with a following, there will be a good turnout.

Most people do not really like to go to political fund-raisers such as coffees, so the drawing card should be the combination of the candidate and the host of the coffee. Regardless who hosts the event, the campaign should oversee the invitations and be ready to help with follow-up phone calls to ensure good attendance. A host who invites sixty people only to have three show up may feel humiliated because he or she let you down. Or the host may feel the candidate is responsible for the poor turnout. Either way, the candidate and the campaign manager have been deprived of one more night at home or of time that could have been spent raising money by phone, preparing for a debate, or getting volunteers for a canvass.

A few years ago I started the practice of having one person whose sole campaign job was to oversee coffees. This person should work closely with the campaign scheduler and serves as the campaign's liaison to any host who wishes to sponsor a coffee but does not need to attend war room meetings. The coffee coordinator should be well connected in the community and, ideally, have ready access to lists that may help the hosts in beefing up the invitation list. The coffee coordinator helps with sending invitations, call-backs, and any other tasks that can help the coffee be as successful as possible.

If at all possible, have the candidate call the people invited to the coffee, or at least some of them. This will ensure a donation if they are going, and if they can't make it, it is an opportunity to ask for money or support.

The candidate's call would go something like this:

"Hello, Sam? This is Al Bates. Say, I just got a list of all the people invited to Shirley's coffee, and when I saw your name, I had to take a moment to call and tell you how much I'm looking forward to you being there. It should be a lot of fun. Bring some tough questions for me, will you? Great, see you there."

Using coffees effectively will bring in money, but, more important, they are a great resource for finding campaign workers and lawn sign locations. So if you are going to have them, pay attention to the details and make each one as successful as possible.

Auctions and Yard Sales. Another good fund-raiser is an auction. You and your campaign team can go to businesses and supporters and get a wide variety of donations. For example, ask four different video stores to donate one children's movie, and then put them all together for one auction item. Your campaign volunteers can donate baked goods for the auction. It may work well to have the candidate or the spouse serve as the auctioneer. I have used a popular high school teacher for this task who is funny and can really work the crowd. Be creative and you can have a fun event that actually brings in money. A good auction can bring in as much as \$6,000 in a small community.

A yard sale is another option. If you're going to plan one, make it an event. Get a huge yard and lots of donations, old and new. Advertise the great stuff well in advance. Yard sales can be very good fundraising events because almost no money is needed to set one up. However, they re-

"I've learned to use the word impossible with the greatest caution."

-Wernher von Braun

quire plenty of time. An effective yard sale will take days to set up, two days to run, and two days to put away. Because a big yard sale can be grueling work, be sure not to schedule one during other labor-intensive activities such as canvassing. A good yard sale can bring in \$2,000. Since most of the money comes in on the first day, I strongly recommend you advertise it as one day only. Should you decide to do two days, cut the second day so it ends by noon or 1:00 p.m. Be sure to buy pizza for your volunteers for lunch from the proceeds.

Involve Attendees. One event I held in a small community was a dessert bake-off. I called specific supporters in that area and asked them to bring their very best dessert. I charged an entry fee for all but the bakers. The campaign provided the coffee (donated), and I recruited other locals to serve as the judges. I made up ribbons for different awards, such as "Dessert Most Likely to Keep a Marriage Together," and each entry won a prize. Because it was held in a small community, all who attended knew each other. Everyone had a great time, and the only cost to the campaign was the rental of the building.

General Considerations. Whatever the type of event, the location is a big consideration. Is it big enough? Too big? How about the atmosphere? For indoor events, *never* use a huge hall or room, unless you are expecting a huge crowd. When selecting locations, I look for places where rooms can be closed

off in case of poor attendance. No matter how many people come, I want the event to look like it's well attended and successful, leaving attendees with the impression that just the number expected came. In selecting a restaurant for a dinner, try to find one that has a medium-sized room with another adjoining it that can be used or closed off as needed.

"One of the symptoms of an approaching nervous breakdown is the belief that one's work is terribly important."

-Bertrand Russell

Consider your budget when deciding what type of event to have. Then figure roughly what it will cost the campaign and what income it is likely to generate. You also need to estimate the commitment necessary from the candidate, the

Fund-Raising

campaign committee, and your volunteers. Don't forget to consider the economic climate in the community. A fifty-dollar-a-plate dinner in a town where the last factory just closed might not be a very good idea even if it would make you money. When considering an event, always ask: Does this make sense? Does it fit? Does it feel right?

2. Plan the Event

Planning an event is an extension of choosing the event. All the considerations that informed your choice of the event must now be put into an action plan. In

"Fatigue makes cowards of us all."
—Vince Lombardi

other words, it is time to sort out the details. For instance, some events will require licenses or permits from local government. They can be a factor in the decision to hold an event, but once the de-

cision is made, someone has to make sure the license or permit is obtained. Similarly, the location, which was a factor in deciding on the type of event, must now be secured. The theme of the event, whether it is a human services luncheon, environmentalist dinner, or a school auction, now influences the details of the event.

To run a successful special event, it is critical that you know who your audience is and how to reach it. For example, are you planning a dinner to support your library? If so, you need to get a mailing list from the Friends of the Library.

Once you know whom you want to reach, you must decide how to reach them. Printed invitations with a telephone follow-up might work well for a formal dinner. However, if the event is a yard sale, just advertise it in the paper or place flyers around town. Whatever the means, people must be assigned to accomplish it. Invitations must be printed; flyers must be designed, printed, and distributed; ads have to be written and delivered. All this takes time and people, and you will need to plan accordingly.

A good way to make sure the details are taken care of is to put the event on a timeline, just like the one for the whole campaign, only smaller. Scheduling in all the tasks and placing the event on a timeline requires someone who is in charge. That person needs to have volunteers assigned to all aspects of the event. Like the campaign itself, successful special events are the product of organization. If you assign the leadership of a special event to one person, provide ample volunteer help, develop a timeline, and plan a budget; you will have a successful event.

While budgets are an extra step, making one will not only help you get a handle on expenses but will also remind you of things that need to be done. For example, listing the cost of the room expense may remind you to check the date of the event to see what else is going on in the community at that

time. If you're hosting that dinner to support your town library, you don't want to find out right after you printed the invitations and rented the hall that it is on the same night as the American Association of University Women annual dinner at the college. Paying for the ads for your auction may remind you to check whether the hospital auction is on the same weekend. Here is a list of the things that could be included in a budget:

- · Site rental
- Food
- Drinks
- Rental (sound system, tables, chairs)
- · Printing
- Supplies
- · Mailings
- Entertainment
- Professionals
- Parking
- Advertisements
- Decorations
- Insurance
- Fees
- Use permits
- Liquor licenses
- · Clean-up
- Awards, door prizes
- Thank-you mailing

Although someone in your organization is in charge of planning the event, when it comes time to implement the plan, provide additional help in the training and staffing of volunteers. Training and staffing requirements must be met before the actual setup begins.

In addition to having trained helpers available, you must plan for the supplies you will need. Often supplies must be ordered well ahead of the event—decorations, for instance—and these should go on your special-event timeline. Also, things that will cost you money—here again, decorations are a good example—are listed in your special-event budget. If you keep going back to the budget and to your expense list, you will be reminded of things you might have forgotten.

Keep in mind that in the planning of an event, some things that do not appear in your budget or timeline may nonetheless be critical. For instance, legal issues such as prohibitions against holding political fund-raisers in public

buildings must be considered. On a more mundane but no less critical level, be sure to have duplicates of essential items. If a slide projector is needed for an event, it is wise to have two projectors on hand, or at least two bulbs. How about extension cords and an extra microphone? Also have duplicate lists of all the important phone numbers of the people you are depending on, such as the vendors, caterers, entertainers, staff, and volunteers. These lists will also help you remember all who need to be acknowledged at the end of the event.

3. Promote the Event

To promote a special event properly, you must have a target audience in mind. Consider the income level and age of your target audience. Once these details

"Action is eloquence."

—William Shakespeare

have been established, consider how best to reach them. Your first task is to determine where to get lists of the people in your target audience. If you have a narrow group in mind, such as teachers, doctors,

or human-service advocates, you can often get mailing lists from the special-interest groups these people belong to or support. If your audience is broader, as it would be for a neighborhood bake sale, you can take the list from a general source such as your campaign's county walking list.

Once you know whom you are trying to contact, you must decide how best to do it. Some possibilities are:

- Invitations
- Flyers
- · Radio and television ads
- Press releases
- Posters
- Newsletters
- · Handbills or flyers
- Calendars
- · E-mail

The content and design of any such announcements must be attractive, professional, and clear. Include the date, place, time (beginning and end), and cost, and provide a map or clear directions for getting there. Note whether any of the cover charge is tax deductible or refundable. For instance, if the event costs \$25 for the attendee but your cost per attendee is only \$10, then the difference, \$15, is a straight campaign contribution. Instead of including the math in the ad, simply put a footnote at the bottom stating what amount of the price is deductible.

4. Conduct the Event

When it is time to conduct a well-planned and well-promoted special event, the most important thing you can do to ensure success is to set up early. Everything should be ready forty-five minutes to an hour ahead of time. As the organizer, you need to keep focused and calm. Your volunteers will take their cue from you, and the message you convey must be calm efficiency. It is a nice touch to have a packet for volunteer organizers with their names on it. Include the overall plan as well as the names of the individuals responsible for each of the volunteer activities. I set up packets similar to the campaign committee packets (see figure 1.1). Although they take a while to write and assemble, volunteers love this format, as it keeps materials well organized.

Once people start to arrive, your focus is on hospitality. How you greet people and work with them will set the tone of the event. Allow adequate time for the candidate to circulate. Do not schedule or allow the candidate to "help" with the operation of the event. The candidate should not be doing things other than meeting the supporters. Name tags will help the candidate when greeting the guests. Be sure to have attendees place the name tag on the right side of their breast so that it can be read discreetly as it moves closer to the candidate's line of sight when he or she is shaking hands.

Remember to thank everyone, even the people who sold you things. Everyone involved—volunteers, guests, and vendors—is forming an impression of the candidate and the campaign, and you need to do everything you can to make a positive impression. That includes a good cleanup, even if you have rented the facility, so make sure there are volunteers who will stay to clean up. As an organizer, never leave an individual to clean up alone. Stay until everything is done.

Candidate Calls to Raise Money

Direct contact by the candidate remains the quickest, cheapest, and most effective way to raise money. It is critical to the success of a campaign. Remember, as the candidate, you are willing to do a job and volunteer your time at a task that few want to do. If people support your core values and ideas, they must show that support by contributing to your campaign, thereby helping you get your name out. Do not sound apologetic. You are doing the community a favor.

While the campaign manager can call for moderate amounts of money, the calls to major donors should be conducted by the candidate or a close family member, such as a spouse, a sibling, or a parent. It is very difficult for people to turn the candidate down on a direct "ask."

Set up some time each day to make the calls. It is important that calls be made from a prepared list that includes phone numbers, addresses, party

registration, giving history, personal notes about the prospective donor, and a suggested amount for the ask. Be sure to have accurate information on what name the candidate should use when speaking with the donor: Is it Katherine, Kathy, Katy, Kate, or Kay?

Calling for Money for Ballot Measures

When fund-raising for ballot measures, it is sometimes easier to set up a goal for a specific item, such as a full-page newspaper ad. Let people know what

"A great leader is seen as servant first, and that simply is the key to his greatness."

-Robert K. Greenleaf

you are trying to buy and how much it will cost so they can contribute accordingly. For example, I might tell people that I am trying to raise \$1,500 for a last-minute ad campaign and ask what they can give toward it. If you are going to use a phone bank for fund-raising, use just a

few people who are committed and are identified with the measure in the community. Provide each with a list of the people you want to call that includes their giving history along with their phone numbers.

Since people prefer to sign on to something that's going to fly, I tell potential donors that we are X dollars away from our goal. Keep track as pledged dollars roll in, and if the campaign hasn't received the check within a week, make a quick reminder call.

Voters do not look favorably on candidates who cannot live within their fund-raising abilities, so while waiting for fund-raising to catch up with spending, consider setting up business accounts with as many of your vendors as possible. Although TV and newspapers require that campaign advertisements be paid in full before the ad runs, printers, typesetters, and other

"The palest ink is better than the most retentive memory."

-Chinese Proverb

vendors may allow you to run an account and pay monthly or at the end of the campaign. Although the money is technically spent, it does not show up on your financial reports until the campaign has received an invoice.

The Campaign Finance Committee

A campaign finance committee is critical to a successful fund-raising effort, especially if the candidate is running for a county office, a state house or senate seat, a congressional seat, or any statewide office. The committee can handle all of the activities described above, or it can be responsible for telephone follow-up on direct mail solicitations. Depending on who is serving on the

committee, it can also be responsible for developing and soliciting major donors. If you are running for an office that covers a fairly large geographic area, you may want more than one finance committee, but within a city, county, or state house and senate district, one will do.

Selecting Finance Committee Members

A great fund-raising committee begins with a strong chair. Your chair should be energetic, charismatic, aggressive, and outgoing and someone who likes

asking for money. The chair should have no other campaign tasks during the time of this fund-raising effort. He or she must have great follow-through abilities and a reputation for getting things done. You do not want your campaign to have to use precious time to clean up after a

"Lives based on having are less free than lives based either on doing or being."

-William James

mess has been made, so choose this person carefully and work closely with him or her to make sure things are going according to plan.

The chair, like all members of the committee, should have experience in raising money or in sales. People who have been involved in fund-raising efforts for other political campaigns, charities, nonprofits, churches, civic organizations, academic institutions, foundations, or clubs make excellent committee members. Look also for people who are involved in politics because they feel passionately about an issue, such as school funding, environmental causes, pro-life or pro-choice, labor unions, gun ownership, health care, land use, housing, and so on. Those who have a history with a specific interest group will be able to raise money from others with similar interests.

Look for members who have personal resources, who have a name that means something to your constituency, and who work hard. Too often campaigns and organizations make the mistake of bringing people on board simply because they have a big name. When there are people serving on the finance committee in name only, other members who are working hard may feel resentment, which can cause the committee to break down. While big names work well on the "Committee to Support" outlined in Chapter 1, they should serve elsewhere in a campaign only if they're willing to roll up their sleeves and work in the trenches like everyone else.

Using the Finance Committee for Direct Mail Follow-Up

If you are using a finance committee to increase returns on a direct mail solicitation, begin by sending a letter of solicitation to people who have previously supported the candidate, supported similar candidates, or supported

issues embraced by the candidate—especially if they are different from those of the opponent. For an issue-based campaign, send the letter to people who have given to causes or organizations that best reflect the ideals of the ballot measure or proposition.

For local campaigns, which are often strapped for time, money, and human resources, I like to keep the work and scope of the fund-raising effort at a low enough level that it can be managed by a small group of dedicated volunteers and completed within a short time frame. This committee works independently of the candidate's efforts to raise money and, depending on the composition of the committee, may or may not include major donors. It is always preferable to have major donors approached by the candidate or someone close to the candidate. However, if members of the finance committee personally know a major donor, use that connection.

When I chair finance committees, I evenly divide members into groups of three or four and have each team select a name for itself. For example, one could be called the Animals, another the Vegetables, and the third the Min-

"The first thing you naturally do is teach the person to feel that the undertaking is manifestly important and nearly impossible... That draws out the kind of drives that make people strong, that puts you in pursuit intellectually."

—Edwin H. Land, founder, Polaroid Corp. erals. These teams compete with each other for prizes that depend on how many dollars each team brings in. The prizes are usually nothing big but tend to make things more fun—such as coffee from a local coffee house (thanks a' latté). At the end of fund-raising efforts, I have bigger prizes for the team that raises the most money, such as donated pottery or art work. Each of the teams should have a team captain who calls team members on a regular basis and keeps everyone

competitive and happy in a friendly way. The team captains report back to the chair.

Campaign Finance Committee Packets

Providing an effective organizational structure for the campaign finance committee not only results in a more successful effort by committee members but also keeps people coming back to work on other campaigns and efforts. This is really a tough job for people, and while some are better than others, an organized effort on your part helps both the seasoned and the novice fund-raiser to be successful. Creating a packet as shown in figure 4.5 keeps members organized and the campaign contained. Clearly, these are

not scraps of paper to leave lying about. They often contain a donor's giving history and personal information.

Details must be attended to in creating these packets just as they must be in preparing packets for the war room. Both the campaign committee and the finance committee are the most important in the campaign. Their members contribute time, resources, energy, and sometimes prestige to your campaign. While the campaign committee provides the organization and leg work, the finance committee helps raise the funds to make everything possible.

In preparing campaign finance committee packets for each member of the committee, include each of the tiered sheets shown in figure 4.5 and detailed in figures 4.6A–H, modified to fit your needs. To give these sheets substance for presentation and durability during the campaign, print them on a heavy paper (no lighter than 80-pound vellum Bristol) and alternate in a two-color scheme—avoid loud or garish colors. Each packet includes eight pieces of paper, in different lengths to create a tiered effect, as well as campaigner cards (figure 4.7), donor cards (figure 4.8), and a sheet that reads "Friends I Will Call" (figure 4.9).

Each of your finance committee members is given a campaigner card (figure 4.7) that will be used to enlist two additional people to assist in the fundraising effort. This method of recruitment increases the finance committee threefold and often brings new faces to a campaign. Campaigner cards can be printed on regular weight paper.

The donor cards are for potential contributors who were mailed a letter of solicitation (figure 4.6D) but have not yet responded by mail. You or the chair will prepare these cards for committee members. To do so, make as many donor cards as there are people who have been solicited by mail, minus the number who already responded, and place a name label in the corner with as much information as you have about the potential donor (figure 4.8). Donor cards must be printed on card stock, because once they are divvied up, committee members handle them a lot while attempting to call from home, the office, or a cell phone while on the way to work.

Once my original finance committee members have enlisted their additional workers (figure 4.7), the candidate should mail a letter to the full committee welcoming them on board, thanking them in advance for their commitment to work on the campaign, and reminding them of the first meeting (figure 4.10). Include with this letter the "Friends I Will Call" sheet (figure 4.9) and a copy of the "Telephone Campaign Overview" (figure 4.6B).

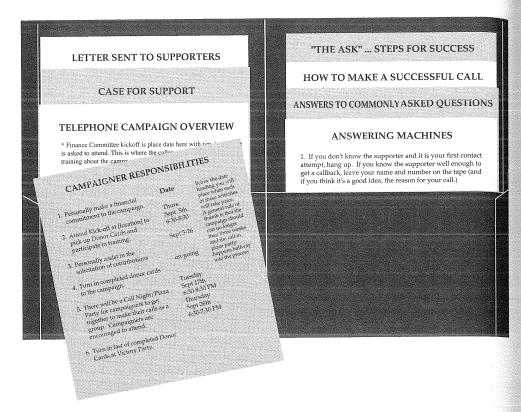


Figure 4.5 Example of a Campaign Finance Committee Packet

CAMPAIGNER RESPONSIBILITIES

Date

(Below the date

heading place when each of

these activities

will take place.

A rule of thumb

campaign should

run no longer

weeks, and the

is that the

than three

call-in pizza

campaign).

party happens halfway into the

1. Personally make a financial commitment to the campaign.

Donor Cards and participate in training.

2. Attend Kickoff at (location) to pick up

3. Personally assist in the solicitation of contributions.

4. Turn in completed Donor Cards to the campaign.

5. There will be a Call Night/Pizza Party for campaigners to get together to make their calls as a group. Campaigners are encouraged to attend.

6. Turn in last of completed Donor Cards at Victory Party.

Thurs.

Sept 15 6:30-8:30

Sept 5-Oct. 6

ongoing

Tuesday Sept 27th 6:30-8:30 PM

Thursday Oct. 6 6:30-7:30 PM

Cut to create a tiered look in the packets.

Figure 4.6A Sample Text for Campaigner Responsibilities Sheet

TELEPHONE CAMPAIGN OVERVIEW

- The finance committee kickoff is (*place, date here with time*). EVERYONE is asked to attend. This is where you will pick up your Donor Cards (approximately 35), get more detailed information and training about the campaign, and meet your team members.
- The Donor Cards will have names of those individuals who have a history of giving to this
 campaign or similar causes. During the three-week fund drive, campaigners will call these
 supporters at their convenience.
- There will be three teams consisting of approximately six campaigners and one team captain.
- Teams compete with one another for a variety of awards and prizes.
- Cards are turned in to the captains or the campaign as they are completed. This is done either directly to your team captain or to the campaign office.
- There will be a Call Night/Pizza Party on (*day and date*) for the finance committee to get together to make their calls as a group. Callers are encouraged to attend.
- A party is scheduled for *(day and date)*. All remaining cards must be turned in on this evening. The winning teams will be announced and honored. We will all be winners at this point, and so will the campaign.
- Fun **is** a requirement for this campaign, so plan on having a good time for a very good cause.

IMPORTANT INFORMATION

All Donor Cards **must** be returned (even if they haven't been called). **Please** do not give Donor Cards to supporters.

THANKS FOR YOUR TIME AND SUPPORT!!!!

CASE FOR SUPPORT

This page is where you most clearly outline what your candidate (or issue-based campaign) stands for. It may be an opportunity to outline the differences between the candidates or to simply make your case without regard to the opposition.

Depending on whom you are soliciting, this sheet may change to accommodate a different focus or emphasis. For example, if you are targeting a Sierra Club mailing list with a letter and follow-up phone call, you may want these notes to include the candidate's stands on environmental issues or past votes if the candidate previously held an office. If you are calling members of a teachers union, you may want to include the candidate's stands on school issues and libraries. For the Chamber of Commerce membership or Rotary Club list, you might focus on the candidate's strengths around business issues. And so on.

It will keep your caller more focused if you match this white paper with the potential donor's interests. You can best determine those interests by knowing the origin of the mailing list.

If you are simply calling a list of general supporters, have a number of important community issues itemized here and your candidate's stands on them. If you're working for an incumbent, list accomplishments while in office.

LETTER SENT TO SUPPORTERS

(This page should include the complete solicitation letter sent to potential donors. Reduce it so it will fit on a single page and still allow room for the above heading.)



ELLE DANIELS FOR MAYOR BUILDING A BETTER COMMUNITY

COMMITTEE
TO
SUPPORT
ELLE DANIELS
FOR MAYOR

Your logo, message should be part of your letterhead

It is sometimes effective to list your big-name people on your letterhead. If you are working in a county, you may choose to list support by city. Remember, these are not necessarily the same names that form the campaign committee.

Work with your committee to draft the body of your letter.
You may include:

- 1. Who you are and your background/roots
- 2. Why you want the office you seek
- Ways to impress upon your supporters that the undertaking is manifestly important and nearly impossible (this brings out the best in people)
- 4. No more than two or three issues that will *really* matter to your readers
- 5. Include a "Donation Card"

Remember:

- Campaigns are about emotion.
- The letter should be kept to one page if possible.
- Include a remittance envelope.

P. S. A "P.S." is sometimes the only thing that gets read. It is very important.

KNOW THE LAW: Don't forget your disclaimer: Paid for by or Authorized by... committee name and treasurer, whatever wording is required by election law. Make it microscopic.

Figure 4.6D Sample Letter Sent to Supporters

ANSWERING MACHINES

- 1. If you don't know the supporter and it is your first contact attempt, hang up. If you know the supporter well enough to get a call-back, leave your name and number (and if you think it's a good idea, the reason for your call).
- 2. If you don't know the supporter well and it's your second or third taped greeting, rather than give up, leave your name, volunteer status, reason for the call, and phone number:

Example:

Hi, this is _______o'clock on (day of the week).

I'm volunteering for (name of campaign) in hopes that you would consider a gift to help support... (place short message here—it could be the candidate's name and office or it could be something that the candidate stands for that will resonate with this particular donor. For example: management of forest land or fly fishing or choice issues or libraries. This must be worked out ahead of time with your volunteer caller and/or noted on the donor card).

I've tried to reach you a number of times by phone and although I am giving up reaching you in person, I'm not giving up on the idea that you'll support (name of candidate and office sought). I'll ask (name of candidate) to send you another return envelope. We would be so grateful if you would use it to support (again, place an issue here that will resonate—appeal to interests over intellect. For example, you might say, "to support better management of our forest resources through [candidate's name]").

This is an extraordinarily close race with a lot at stake, and we can only win with help from people like you. If you have any questions, please give me a call at _____.

- 3. On the donor card write that another blank return envelope needs to be sent to the supporter and get it back to the campaign as soon as possible. A nice touch is to include a short handwritten, signed note, such as: "Sorry, I missed you."
- 4. If leaving a message does not fit your style, perhaps you could send the potential supporter a note and enclose it with an envelope from your folder. Please note on the donor card that you have done so.

GOOD LUCK!!!

ANSWERS TO FREQUENTLY ASKED QUESTIONS

Sample questions:

Didn't I already give to this candidate (campaign)?

Previous gift information, when available, should be on the donor card or printouts, depending on which you are using. It's OK to give the information to the donor, but volunteer it only when you have a purpose. For example, donors gave \$50 to a similar candidate or cause and you want them to increase their gift.

I give money to my PAC at work, and they're already supporting this candidate.

"That's great. However, if we can show that the bulk of our money comes from individuals, such as you, rather than PACs, it encourages others to contribute also. While PAC money will help, we depend on direct support from individuals to pull off a win in November."

I don't know much about either of these candidates. How are they different?

Have two or three key issues that clearly show the difference between your candidate and the opponent and place that here. These key issues should be appropriate for the donor list you are soliciting.

How does this candidate stand on _____?

Think of two or three issues that might come up in a phone solicitation. This is the place to touch on a couple of key issues that might be of concern to the community. However, volunteers should use caution in discussing campaign issues in too much detail. However, for the caller to have more background, your "Case for Support" sheet should cover the issues in greater depth.

Who else supports this candidate?

Include a short endorsement list here of organizations and well-known citizens that support the candidate. Prepare here! For example, if you're calling Realtors, don't list an antigrowth group to the potential supporter. Instead it might include members of the Chamber of Commerce, the Rotary Club, or your downtown association. Again, fit the endorsements with the people being called.

Figure 4.6F Sample Text for Answers to Frequently Asked Questions Sheet

HOW TO MAKE A SUCCESSFUL CALL

BEFORE YOU PICK UP THE PHONE:

- Be proud of yourself for working on the front lines of a campaign. Many talk a good game, but you act.
- 2. <u>Feel camaraderie with the person you're calling</u>. In nearly every case, the person has previously given to an organization supporting our efforts, directly to our candidate, or to another candidate who embraces ideals similar to our candidate's.
- 3. Remember what motivates you about (the candidate or ballot measure) and why you agreed to pitch in with the campaign.
- 4. Decide how much you will ask for. If you know the person and their giving capabilities, don't be afraid to be bold. Otherwise you might say that people are giving \$50 on average but that any amount would be welcome and put to good use. I often just let the people tell me what they want to give. ("What should I put you down for?" Offering increments of \$25, \$50, \$100 works well.) It is important to get an amount.

MAKING CONTACT WITH THE DONOR:

- 5. Identify yourself by name and as a volunteer, and <u>ask for the donor by her or his first name.</u>
- 6. If a couple is identified on the donor card and you don't know which one cares about the campaign, an effective approach is to give your name and say you're a volunteer working for (name of campaign) as part of a fund-raising effort to get (name) elected. Then ask whether it is X or Y or both who support the candidate. Then ask to speak with that person. Say you'll call back if the person is not then available.
- 7. Show the donor that you are sensitive to the possibility that your call might come as an intrusion. For instance: *Do you have a minute to talk now?* If the answer is "no," ask when it would be convenient to call back. Note the call-back time on the donor card, and then follow through. If the answer is "yes," you're on your way!
- 8. Refer to the letter sent out by our campaign. Included in your packet is a "Case for Support" paper that will help guide you.

"THE ASK" ... STEPS FOR SUCCESS

1. Strategies for The Ask:

The campaign should have some issues that are important to the donor. For example, if the donor's name came from a NOW list and choice is an important component in the campaign, use this information. Use the information about where the donor's name came from to build a relationship. Whether the source is the Chamber of Commerce, a school union, an environmental group, a women's activist organization, or even the town you live in, use this information.

Find ways to connect with the potential donor. For example: In a countywide race you may live in the same town as the prospective donor and recognize the last name as a parent with children going to school with your children. "Hi, I'm a volunteer out working for [name] tonight. As a parent of the Jacksonville School District, I'm supporting [name] because of her leadership within our community schools. Tonight we're raising money to send [name] to the Board of Commissioners, and we're hoping you will join our effort. Would you consider a pledge of \$50 toward the campaign?"

A very effective technique is to tell the donors how much you are trying to raise for a specific campaign function. For example: "Hi, I'm a volunteer helping [name of campaign]. We're trying to raise \$12,000 for some TV spots that have to be bought now for the November election. Would you be willing to make a pledge or send a gift to support our efforts?" If they say yes, ask what you can put them down for. If they say no or are curt with you, ask if they would rather be removed from the mailing list.

- 2. Once you have made the request for money, let the donor respond. Do not distract the donor with nervous small talk. Just be silent. Remember: after the ask, the first one to speak, loses. If the donor declines the ambitious amount you've suggested, ask if he or she would prefer to break the gift down by half and give twice. If that doesn't work, fall back to a more modest amount.
- 3. If the donor indicates that he or she will probably make a pledge but hasn't decided how much, suggest that the campaign can send another envelope as a reminder, and the donor can send whatever amount he or she feels comfortable with.
- 4. Finally, verify the address on the donor card, and ask if the donor has any objection to being acknowledged in an endorsement ad. Please note the response on the donor card, and use the card to record any other information that has even the slightest chance of being useful, such as issues that the voter cares about, if he or she wants to work for the campaign or would like a lawn sign.
- 5. Thank everyone, including turndowns, for their time.

Figure 4.6H Sample Text for "The Ask" . . . Steps for Success Sheet

ELLE DANIELS FOR MAYOR BUILDING A BETTER COMMUNITY

CAMPAIGNER CARD

Finance Committee Member	
1st Campaigner's Name	
Address	City Zip
2nd Campaigner's Name	Phone
Address	City Zip

Figure 4.7 Example of a Campaigner Card (Print three to a sheet of paper and cut to size.)

FRONT: Daniels for Mayor Place donor label here. Include: PO Box 1 Name (include partner or spouse) Ashland, Oregon 97520 Address 555-2003 Phone number Giving history Amount Pledged Payable: Send envelope and information sheet Turn Down Pay half now, half later Contact/Attempts: Other Arrangements Visa Mastercard # **Expiration Date**

ACK:	
ampaigner: Please fill out card, front and back, and return with your w mail address ew address (street or box, city, zip)	reekly reports.
ew Phone number (cell phone?) ut of town; expected return date ontact later; date to contact rong phone number; present number unknown turndown, reason given omments	

Figure 4.8 Example of a Donor Card (front and back). These are printed on card stock.

FRIENDS I W (Business-Socia			Caller's Name
•			
Name		Phone	
Address			
City	Zip	Pledge	
Name	CONTRACTOR	Phone	
Address		<u> </u>	
City	Zip	Pledge	
Name		Phone	
Address			
City	Zip	Pledge	
Name		Phone	
Address			
City	Zip	Pledge	
Name		Phone	
Address		, p. g.,	
City	Zip	Pledge	
Name		Phone	
Address			
City	Zip	Pledge	
Name		Phone	
Address			
City	Zip	Pledge	
Name		Phone	
Address			
City	Zip	Pledge	

IMPORTANT: PLEASE BRING THIS LIST TO THE CAMPAIGN KICK-OFF SO WE CAN CHECK FOR DUPLICATIONS.

Figure 4.9 Sample Friends I Will Call

The "Friends I Will Call" sheet is important because finance committee members list their friends or co-workers who they believe are supportive of the cause. Obviously this does two things: It increases your donor base, and it gets friends to call friends. This form should be filled out and returned to the campaign before the kickoff party to give the campaign an opportunity to remove any duplicates of names that are already in the mix for a call from the committee. Because many sheets end up arriving on the night of the kickoff (no matter how much you plead to have them back earlier), have a couple of campaign workers on hand to check these lists against your existing donor cards and the other names on the "Friends I Will Call" sheets. Remove duplicates before members begin their calling. This is important because people who hate being called once for a solicitation can get downright nasty on the second or third call in a single evening; plus it makes your campaign look disorganized and committee members go ballistic.

Once donor card duplications have been removed and duplications within each of the lists eliminated, return each "Friends I Will Call" sheet to the volunteer who generated it so that he or she can make contact with those on their list during the fund-raising campaign.

Include in each finance committee packet paper and envelopes so callers can jot a quick thank-you note to the donor after the phone contact (figure 4.11). This provides the added benefit of allowing for a personalized message while the conversation is still fresh in everyone's mind. It's most effective if this is done between calls; if left to the end, it usually does not happen.

This personal and efficient touch works. Use nice paper cut in half and a small envelope (4½ by 5^{3} /4 inches). Prepare and include a few thank-you notes generated by the campaign for the committee and word them in such a way that they will not need a salutation—only a signature. Whether personal or prepared, completed thank-you notes are paper-clipped to the donor card for mail preparation—don't forget to include a remittance envelope (figure 4.4).

Because callers are more successful when they have plenty of information, finance committee packets should include a lot of detail about the

candidate or issue-based campaign. Obviously, callers do not have to read everything in the packet, but those who do are often more at ease in the task. Here, as with canvassing, discourage volunteers from answering specific questions about a candidate's stands on issues. Although a caller can share his or her motivation for volunteering in the effort, specific

"I am deeply touched—not as deeply touched as you have been coming to this dinner, but nonetheless it is a sentimental occasion."

> —John F. Kennedy at a political fund-raiser

Fund-Raising

Dear Bonnie,

106

Thank you for volunteering as a campaigner for the Daniels for Mayor campaign. This fund-raising effort promises to reach an all-time high in dollars raised and fun to be had.

Please pull out your calendar and write the following dates and times down.

ALL EVENTS ARE LOCATED AT CAMPAIGN HEADQUARTERS LOCATED AT 525 BEACH STREET

CAMPAIGN KICK-OFF
CALL NIGHT PIZZA PARTY
TURN IN PLEDGE SHEETS
VICTORY PARTY...LAST OF
PLEDGE CARDS TURNED IN

THURSDAY SEPT. 15 6:30-8:30PM MONDAY SEPT. 27 6:30-8:30PM ON GOING THROUGHOUT MONTH

THURSDAY OCT. 6 6:30-7:30PM

Now that you have these important dates written down, take a second to look over the enclosed information. I have included a campaign overview to let you know just where we are going with all of this and a "Friends I Will Call" sheet.

Please pay special attention to the "Friends I Will Call" sheet. This important list will accomplish two things. It will help you think of friends and acquaintances you could call who may be interested in supporting Elle Daniels for Mayor. It will also allow us to cross-reference those individuals with the list being called to eliminate the chance of call duplications. Please send it to me as quickly as possible or bring it to the campaign kick-off.

If you have any questions please feel free to contact me at work (number) or home (number).

Thank you again,

Figure 4.10 Sample Letter Welcoming Finance Committee Member to the Campaign

questions can best be answered by directing the donor to call the candidate directly.

It's a nice touch to personalize each of the finance committee packets by putting the caller's name on the front, even if it's in the form of a printed label; it tells the volunteer that he or she is important and is being counted on.

On kickoff night, when each committee member is to receive a packet and a stack of donor cards, the candidate and the campaign manager should be present. The candidate says a few words of thanks and inspiration, and the manager gives an overview of the fund-raising effort.

Callers are to make the calls within a three-week period, usually from home. However, it is a good idea to set up a phone bank party midway. This

Dear Peter,

Just a quick note to let you know how great it was to talk to you tonight and to thank you in advance for your generous pledge.

Without support from people like you we would not be able to pull off a win this November.

Oh, I hope your son did well on his Spanish test.

Thanks again, Joan

Figure 4.11 Sample Thank-You Note from Campaign Finance Committee Member to Campaign Donor

really gives callers a shot in the arm, and most will complete their calls at this time. In general, people prefer to call in the company of others, and many save their calls for this night—so make it a fun evening with great food and drink.

It is important to remember that the people being solicited in this manner are not major donors. Major donors are contacted by the candidate, his or her spouse, or someone else close to the candidate.

"You may never know what results from your action. But if you do nothing, there will be no results."

-Gandhi

Potential Sources for Names

The following are individuals and organizations that may be able to provide names or generate lists of names.

candidate

candidate's spouse and relatives

contributors to other campaigns

finance committee friends of the campaign campaign staff business associates finance chair clubs professional organizations college class mates churches issue groups the party unions

Tips for Successful Fund-Raising

- 1. Campaigns are about emotion, not intellect.
- 2. Be visionary; present a vision; address opportunity. People need to feel that investing in a campaign will make life better, both now and in the future. They should feel that your winning will strengthen the community. Make your case larger than the office you seek or the program you hope to fund.
- 3. Invite donors to invest in leadership, solutions, and vision. Through a candidate or a campaign, people are making an investment in their community. Generally, people contribute to a campaign or candidate because they believe that they will get something in return. Describe to the donor, the voter, the citizen what they will get with a victorious election. Use issues that are in front of voters.
- 4. Look for early money. "He who gives early gives twice" (Cervantes). Do not look at fund-raising as though there is just so much money and no more. Money flows like a river; don't think of it like a well or a pond. There's plenty of money if you can show that gifts will be used wisely. This applies to candidates and campaigns as well as schools, libraries, parks, and other issue-based campaigns for money.
- 5. Sell ideas and hope, not the candidate. You're offering something that the voter wants: opportunity, vision, solutions, parks, better

"It does not matter so much where we are . . . as the direction which we are moving."

—Goethe

schools, less traffic, lower crime rates, cleaner air, whatever. Look at your campaign as the vehicle for the voters to get what they want. Charles Revson, founder of Revlon, said, "In the factory, we make cosmetics. In the stores, we sell hope."

- 6. Never think of fund-raising as begging. If you're a candidate, you're putting yourself out there, at no small sacrifice, to do a job that people want done. If you're working for a ballot measure, you're creating opportunities for a community to realize a vision.
- 7. There's a difference between an underdog and a losing effort. People want to help an underdog but usually will not help finance an effort

- they believe will lose. Presenting your campaign as an underdog suggests that people are investing in the American Dream.
- 8. *Stay on your message*. Your message should always be at the center of every appeal. Incorporate it into the "ask" while keeping the targeted donor's profile and interests as the focus.
- 9. *Be organized.* Because people equate organization with winning, by showing a strong organizational core you are more likely to get people to give.
- 10. Think community. Community campaigns are the most successful. A community campaign presents issues that people understand. It presents solutions, involves volunteers, and encourages investment in the future. Do not talk about the mechanics of the campaign. A campaign and a candidate don't have needs; the community and the people in it have needs and challenges. The candidate or campaign should represent opportunity, solutions, answers, and the ability to meet those needs.
- 11. *Don't be afraid to ask for money.* Asking for money is how you fund a campaign.

Fund-Raising Ideas That Take Less Than One Month of Preparation

- 1. Personal solicitation.
- 2. The "Friends I Will Call" sheet.
- 3. Dinner at a restaurant as outlined above.
- 4. "Sponsored by . . ." Dinner or brunch at the house of someone well known. This is a variation on a theme of a coffee, but whereas coffees are usually free, a dinner has an admission fee.
- 5. Theme dinner. These are great fun. First, and most important, you need an incredible friend who is willing to open his or her home and do the preparation of food with other friends. A theme dinner usually will focus on a period in history (such as the turn of the century), an author or set of authors, an important leader, and so forth. For example, you might have an evening focusing on Jane Austin. One friend would research her life and prepare some text that may be read throughout (or between) courses of the meal. Others would prepare the meal that features the types of foods eaten at that time period. A theme dinner can also center on many authors. In this case, your really great friend might prepare favorite dishes of certain authors or dishes featured in books—such as *Like Water for Choco-*

Fund-Raising

111

late. We have done this with high school girls and boys acting as the servants (dressed in black and white). You will also need different people to read appropriate passages from books that pertain to the courses being served. As these dinners are a real treat—almost like time travel—and lots of work, charge plenty. Make sure you sell enough tickets to make it worth your while before you head out to shop for groceries and spend days cooking.

- 6. Small auctions. They are surprisingly easy to conduct. You need volunteers who are willing to approach businesses and friends to get donations for a candidate. Combine donations to make more attractive prizes. Auction a pair of shoes from a local shoe store, or a backpack from a mountaineering supply store; find someone willing to give tennis lessons or golf lessons; ask a historian to donate a tour of your town's historic district; ask a pilot to donate a ride in a private plane; and so on.
- 7. Softball tournament. This requires lots of work and makes very little money but is great fun and a perfect project for that guy who wants to help, but doesn't quite fit in anywhere else. The admission fees go to the campaign.
- 8. Birthday party for the candidate. The price of admission in dollars should be the candidate's age in years.
- 9. Raffle. This requires someone to be completely on top of the event, someone who can really track where the tickets are. You need a big

"Men take only their needs into consideration, never their abilities."

-Napoleon

prize and some lesser prizes plus a bunch of people to sell tickets. Again, you can combine things to create a big prize, such as dinner for two, plus two theater tickets, after-theater dessert, and nightcap at a popular spot.

10. A donated weekend in a cabin, at the lake, in the woods, or near a

"A person is known by his charity."
—Irish proverb

ski resort. Do you know anyone with a condo in Hawaii? If a travel agent supports you, he or she might be willing to forgo the sales commission and help with a really cheap fare that the cam-

paign could afford to pay. Be creative.

11. An afternoon with . . . Have a local celebrity or author put together entertainment or a reading. How about asking the governor to pop in as he or she is moving through town? Have some great donated pastries and assorted hot beverages on hand.

12. Tasting and toasting. This is a theme coffee with an admission. It is just what it sounds like: wine tasting with finger food and a couple of big names present.

"Hey, Big Spender"

If you've read this far, chances are you don't have millions of dollars to throw at your campaign—maybe not even thousands. So what happens when you head up a ballot measure or pull a peti-

tion against big money? Don't worry, there's hope. Big spenders may get a lot of press, but they don't always win. In fact, the Center for Responsive Politics reported that in the 1996 congres-

"We make a living by what we get, but we make a life by what we give." —Winston Churchill

sional races, only 19 of the 149 candidates who spent more than \$100,000 of their own money won—that's less than 13 percent. Similarly, in the 2002 midterm elections, 19 of the 20 U.S. House and Senate candidates who spent \$1 million or more of their own funds on their campaigns lost.

While deep pockets can't always buy a win on election day, they can buy name recognition. So, if you're running a campaign against someone with

unlimited resources, you'd better have a tight message, a lot of volunteers, a wellorganized campaign, and an edge. In this handbook you'll find a number of tips to help you compete with big money. How-

"Big money brings big problems." —Bill Meulemans

ever, if you know you will be outspent, pay close attention to developing a powerful message and communicating it in effective ways that resonate with the voters.

With the complexities of government more in focus for the voter in recent years, experience is playing a larger role in electing and reelecting candidates. While "I don't know" can initially sound romantic and even charming, it wears thin with the voters as

time goes on. Although there are exceptions, candidates who are vague about issues eventually will come across to voters as lacking substance whether they have lots of personal wealth or not.

"Nobody roots for Goliath."
—Wilt Chamberlain

In a special election in 1999, Audie Bock won a seat in the California State Assembly with \$40,000, one direct mail piece, a few lawn signs, and 100 volunteers. Her opponent spent \$600,000, including \$100,000 in the last two weeks on twelve direct mail pieces.

In Nebraska's 1998 gubernatorial primary, Mike Johanns, who was hugely outspent by his two opponents, won using the slogan: "This is about governing . . . and I've done it." This slogan focused on the candidate's experience—something money cannot buy.

By contrast, an underfinanced Republican, Bill Redmond, of New Mexico, was elected to Congress in 1996 in a district heavily populated by registered Democrats not by focusing on his experience but rather on questionable ethical activities of his opponent. And his campaign used one other very effective trick. With a strong Green Party candidate, Carol Miller, in the running, the Redmond campaign sent a direct mail piece to Democrats urging them to vote for her, thereby splitting the Democratic vote.

"A man's real worth is determined by what he does when he has nothing to do."

-Megiddo message

In all these campaigns, the focus on message, a disciplined organization, volunteers, strategy, and communication pulled out not just difficult races, but, in the Redmond and Bock examples, seemingly impossible races, all while being outspent. While Redmond and Bock incorporated negative campaigning, in the

Nebraska election Mike Johanns never went negative.

In my town, we effectively fought and won a campaign for a prepared food and beverage tax to pay for an open-space program and wastewater treatment plant upgrades against local restaurateurs, Realtors, and the Oregon Food and Beverage Industry. Although we were outspent five to one, we had an effective message that resonated with the voters and hundreds of volunteers to deliver that message.

Five Reasons Why Personal Wealth Doesn't Translate into Winning Campaigns

- 1. Many voters feel that money is not an entitlement to hold a public office. Candidates must have substance, a clear stand on issues, and related experience.
- 2. A candidate who appears to be working hard to get into office will be perceived as someone who will work hard once in office. A candidate who buys everything for support does not always appear to be working as hard as the candidate who can't buy so much.
- 3. Clear communication will beat money every time. The voter knows that if a candidate can clearly communicate during an election, there's a good chance that he or she will be a good communicator in office.

- 4. Because there is a perception that candidates with great personal wealth do not need financial support, they have a more difficult time raising money. Money raised is itself a way to communicate with the voters: It tells them who supports a candidate and, in essence, why.
- 5. Similarly, there is a perception that candidates with great personal wealth do not need as much volunteer help—that they can buy strategists, pollsters, campaign managers, phone bank callers, canvassers, and envelope stuffers. Fewer volunteers on the campaign also means a smaller number of potential supporters from among the friends and family of existing volunteers.

Outside money can also be a liability. There is fundamental suspicion among voters when outside money tries to buy an election. This is most apparent in small communities that take on money measures that poke at large political action groups with unlimited resources to influence the outcome of an election. However, I have also seen allegations of outside money influence used to defeat statewide ballot measures.

So what if you have plenty of money and want to get elected or pass your ballot measure? Here are some tips:

- 1. If you're working to pass or defeat a ballot measure, remember, the messenger is the message. Carefully choose who will deliver the message to the voters. In the 1998 California general election, the Indian gambling proposition had the out-of-state Las Vegas casinos fighting it while the proponents used Native Americans to promote it. The casinos lost. During a recent tort reform ballot measure, lawyers used victims of drunk drivers rather than themselves in ads. Carefully consider your messenger and use one who evokes an emotion or a positive feeling with the voters.
- 2. Hit the campaign trail. Don't spend all your time with the high end of society. Get out and meet the public, kiss babies, shake hands, go to malls, get your face or issue out there. Do the walking and talking. If you're independently wealthy and financing your own campaign, you get to spend time with the voters rather than on the phone dialing for dollars.
- 3. Distance yourself from any legislation or policies that look like they will benefit your business, either directly or indirectly. A good politician will embrace issues that are good for the community, especially the community in the long run. That may not be good for your

business in the immediate future, but it will be good for you as a candidate and office holder.

- 4. Being rich doesn't mean you shouldn't be informed on the issues, have a tight message, and be able to communicate it well to the public. Get your campaign organized, and don't apologize for your money.
- 5. Spend your resources as though you don't have a lot. Use lawn signs, newspaper ads, radio ads, and direct mail. Even though you can afford it and it's easier, you should avoid communicating with the voters only through TV ads.
- 6. Don't run as a businessperson, run as a leader in your community. Talking about your business success can be misconstrued by the voter. Instead relate your business experience to serving in office. While people love to say government should be run like a business, that's not exactly true; streets make no money, sewer and water services make no money. Government is not about making a profit, it's about service to the community—it's business with a heart. Characterize the differences so voters know that you understand what they are.
- 7. Don't parade your wealth to the voters by saying how much you will spend to win. You never want to appear as though you're buying votes. It's far more important to the voters that you earn them.
- 8. Most important, always appear to be one with the average person. Integrate this idea as part of your core. Too often, those who are very wealthy project an image of being out of touch with the common person.

The World's Smallest Brochure: Direct Mail That Works

Most direct mailings have a rate of return of 3 to 6 percent without callbacks. Because a campaign does not want to send a direct mail piece to raise funds that costs more money than it brings in, the challenge lies in designing

a piece with a higher rate of return that is inexpensive to produce.

"Time is the most valuable thing one can spend."

-Theophrastus (300 B.C.)

People have become very sophisticated at detecting junk mail. To increase the rate of return, the piece must first get opened; second, it must be read (at least in part); and finally, it must be

compelling enough to motivate the reader to give. Anything in a businesssize envelope (a number 9) with an address label, a bulk stamp, or a meter mark is suspect and apt to be thrown away without being opened. So the first task is choosing an envelope size for the piece that will make it more likely to be opened.

In 1999 the Reform Party created a direct mail piece that went out nation-wide to 70,000 recipients. They drew a return rate of 4 percent by using an oversized (5 by 7 inches) courier envelope and an easy-to-read three-page note. The return rate of this piece was double the national average, and they realized a two to one profit (*Campaigns & Elections*, April 2000, p. 54). A mailing that large enjoys an economy of scale that few local elections can attain; in this case, it cost only 67 cents per piece, including postage. The cost of a mailing like this for a short run in a local election could easily be more than twice as much; in fact, postage alone (if using first class) would come in at 57 cents per piece.

While oversized pieces work well with some voters, they do not work at my home. The size that I most consistently open looks like an invitation or a greeting card from a friend; that is, $6\frac{1}{2}$ by $4^3/4$ inches. This size is large enough to hold a remittance envelope (without folding) and also will comfortably hold a half-sheet of paper folded in half. Given that a shorter letter is more likely to be read, do not make the mistake of folding an $8\frac{1}{2}$ -by-11-inch sheet in four.



REPRESENTATIVE BATES' 2001 REPORT CARD

The Oregon Business Association ranked Representative Alan Bates among the top ten legislators in Oregon: "courageous, smart, thoughtful."

The Oregon League of Conservation Voters gave Rep. Bates an 82% pro-environment rating.

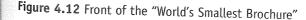
The Oregon Education Association rated Dr. Bates in the 90th percentile for his advocacy of public education.

"As a freshman legislator, he shined as he forged consensus legislation ensuring a healthy and competitive workers' compensation market in Oregon. It was Dr. Bates who kept the interests of the insured and the small businesses first."

- Coalition for Economic Security for Oregon

Because of legislation sponsored or strongly supported by Dr. Alan Bates Oregonians will have:

- Increased access to higher education (HB 2521)
- A patient bill of rights (HB 3040)
- Reduced prescriptions costs for seniors (HB 3300 & SB 819)
- Improved roads and highways (comprehensive transportation package)
- Government made more accountable through annual audits (HB 3980)
- A cleaner and safer environment (mercury reduction legislation)





Dr. Alan Bates State Representative

Oak Street Ashland, Oregon 97520

Phone and fax: (541) 482-1427 Fmail: repbates@internetcds.com

Dear Friends,

I wanted to take a moment to thank you for the opportunity to serve Southern Oregon in the legislature. When I first ran for State Representative I never realized how much I would love this work.

Although veteran legislators told me I accomplished more than most freshmen—especially of a minority party—I sometimes felt frustrated watching excellent bills (such as campaign finance reform) die in committee. Still, there were many successes of which I am quite proud. I have included a few in this mailing.

I believe my success was due not only to the support of so many in Southern Oregon who helped me get to Salem, but also those who continued to help throughout the session with emails, phone calls, and letters alerting my office to problem legislation. With 5,000 bills to read we relied on those back home to help. We were not disappointed.

Now, I need your help again. I've been told this area will be targeted in the next election and that I must expect a tough and expensive race. While I am willing to put in the time needed to win the next election, I know that hard work alone is no guarantee. To win, I need your support of both time and money.

Please, take a moment to return the enclosed envelope and, please, consider a contribution today.

Thank you,

PS. Political contributions (up to \$50 per person, \$100 per couple) are refundable on your Oregon tax return. That applies whether you file the short or long form.

Figure 4.13 Sample Fund-Raising Letter Inside of the "World's Smallest Brochure"

Once the envelope is open, it is important that the piece offer plenty of information, be pleasing to look at, and have a weight and feel that says the recipient is important, without looking lavish or expensive.

The challenge then is how to make it all fit in a small format.

To accomplish such a package, my graphic designer and I put together what we call the world's smallest brochure: a half sheet of $8^{1}/_{2}$ -by-11-inch 80pound vellum Bristol, folded in half. The front of the piece featured a photo of the candidate and a list of his accomplishments and ratings during his first term in the Oregon House (figure 4.12). The inside had another photo of the candidate and a letter with a P.S. on the state's tax refund policy on political contributions (figure 4.13), each personally signed by the candidate in either blue or green ink (never use black). The back had an endorsement from the governor. Given the space constraints, we skipped the usual business letter practice of including the donor's address in the upper left-hand corner. Some letters had a "Dear Friends" salutation, and on others we used no other identifier than the recipient's first name to make it a personalized letter; this created more work, but was worth it. To keep everything looking sharp, the letter, envelope, and remittance envelope were all printed on white.

To encourage the recipient to turn the envelope over (one step closer to opening it), we had the representative's name and address printed on the envelope flap rather than on the front in the upper left-hand corner.

To test a "Dear Friends" salutation versus a personalized one, I divided the mailing into two parts. The first was sent to 500 people who had canvassed, had a lawn sign, or volunteered time to the campaign in some way. Although some had also given to the campaign, I did not have the donor list at the time of the mailing. This group had a letter that began "Dear Friends," which allowed me to have the whole thing printed, cut, and folded at a local print shop. Using a clerical team of sixteen seniors, we hand addressed, stuffed, sealed, and stamped the envelopes (using bulk, not first-class postage) in one hour and fifteen minutes. The mailing cost \$400 (85 cents per piece)—for printing, postage, paper stock, layout, and remittance envelopes.

Because the candidate was a physician, I sent the second mailing to 100local physicians that he knew, either personally or peripherally, using a letter designed to address their interests. This mailing was identical to the "Dear Friends" mailing except for four things: the text of the letter, the personalized salutation, a first-class stamp rather than a bulk stamp, and a computer-generated "handwriting" font on the envelope. A volunteer printed and stamped the envelopes. One side of the letter was printed at a local print shop, and I used my printer to add the personalized salutation and letter on

the other side; I cut and stuffed the letters as they came out of the printer. Increasing the postage from bulk to first class increased the price by 14 cents per piece but saved an enormous amount of time going to the post office and dealing with the bulk mail process. The cost of the second piece was \$1 each, for a total of \$100.

For the 500 "Dear Friends" letters, the rate of return was 19 percent with an average donation of \$61. This \$400 mailing brought in \$5,745. The mailing with the personalized salutation and first-class postage stamp had a 53 percent rate of return with an average donation of \$97. This \$100 mailing brought in \$5,125. The two mailings combined realized a twenty to one profit. We did not make follow-up phone calls for either mailing.

Keeping Track of Donations

One enormously helpful contribution a volunteer can make to a campaign is to keep the records of donations as they come in. By having these records complete and in one place, your campaign will save money in accounting fees and will have at hand the information needed for filing with the secretary of state or the elections department. Figure 4.14 is an example of headings you can use in a spreadsheet for keeping track.

Name,	First: (signer name)	Spouse/ partner	Address/PO box	City	Zip	Occupation (signer)	Donation amount	Date received	T.Y.	Phone #
			L	L						

Figure 4.14 Example of Headings for the Donor Spreadsheet. Your campaign must have the occupation of the person who *signed* the check and the date the check was received for filing purposes.